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Pacific School of Religion

MILITARISM in the U. S. A.

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The Point of View

And "Who's Who in This Issue"

MILITARISM in the U. S. A.? "There isn't any such thing," is the retort one often hears. The very suggestion that our country is becoming militaristic is deeply resented in many quarters. Yet the relevant evidence is so cumulative and disquieting that we have been led to give it major attention in this issue. Ordinarily we do not plan to devote more than one-third of the space in a given number to articles on a single theme. The extreme importance of this question, however, has caused us to double the regular amount of space available for contributions on a special topic.

Part of this difference in opinion is due to the failure to agree upon the meaning of terms. To many persons the word militarism connotes aggression and bloodthirstiness. This is not the sense in which we use the term. In Webster's New International Dictionary we find militarism defined as "the spirit and temper whiich exalts the military virtues and ideals, and minimizes the defects of military training and the cost of war and preparation for it." A militarist is defined as "one devoted to military life or affairs." Thus we use the word militarism to characterize the current belief in armed preparedness as the most effective means of maintaining national security and justice.

NOTHING could be more fitting than to begin this number with an article on non-violence by *Mahatma Gandhi.* In the second article, *Harry Allen Overstreet,* head of the department of philosophy at the College of the City of New York, has massed significant data revealing the efforts now being made to militarize our minds. . . . We feel ourselves especially fortunate in having secured so distinguished a soldier as *Brigadier General Gignilliat,* formerly of the General Staff of the A. E. F., decorated with the D. S. M., officer of the Legion of Honor, prominent in the work of the American Legion, and Superintendent of Culver Military Academy, to present the argument in favor of military training. . . . *George Albert Coe,* professor of religious education in Teachers College of Columbia University, discusses certain effects of the Citizens Military Training Camps upon those persons who attend and upon the country at large, while the significance of the Reserve Officers Training Corps is treated by *Reinhold Niebuhr,* Contributing Editor of the Christian Century. . . . *Nevin Sayre,* Chairman of the Committee on Militarism in Education, shows the effects of military propaganda on freedom of speech. . . . Few men are better prepared to discuss the effects of our militarism upon the students of the Far East than is *Charles D. Hurrey,* Secretary of the Committee on Friendly Relations With Foreign Students. . . . In the hope that our citizens may more clearly recognize the serious blunders in policy made by other nations and profit thereby, we requested *Ludwig Quidde,* distinguished historian and Presider of the German Peace Society, to write co cerning pre-war militarism in Europe. . . The thesis that military preparedness const tutes a positive menace to international s curity and justice is presented by t Editor. . . . Several of the contributors this number made use of certain data th had been assembled by *Roswell Barnes, Ra mond Wilson and Roy Veatch,* who were e gaged for research work under the joi auspices of THE WORLD TOMORROW and t Committee on Militarism in Education, ar to whom we are very deeply indebted.

THE chief book reviews are by *Dorot Canfield Fisher,* well known author "Her Son's Wife" and "The Brimming Cup *Henry Raymond Mussey,* professor of ec nomics at Wellesley; *Wm. I. Hull,* profess of history and economics at Swarthmor *Norman Thomas,* former candidate for Go ernor of New York and Director of t League for Industrial Democracy. In th issue the Executive and Literary Editor b gins a new feature entitled "A Window the Street," brief comments on significa issues of the day. Not in the Headlines co tinues to emphasize important items that a likely to be overlooked. Under the captic "Building Tomorrow's World," the Edit presents the first of a series of articles various aspects of the task of creating social order based on the religion of Jes And, of course, Eccentricus is up to his c tricks on The Last Page.

SINCE this is the first issue published the present editorial staff, perhaps should say a word about the future policy the paper. Characteristics to which we a pire are accuracy of statement, superiori of quality, attractiveness of style, frankne of speech, fearlessness of treatment, a evenness of temper. Acting upon the beli that the laborer is worthy of his hire and order to secure the highest quality of craft manship, we pay a "living wage" to o contributors, our rates being higher tha most publications in our field.

This is a journal of religion and we sha seek to examine various aspects of curre problems and to consider proposed solutio in the light of the matchless teaching a unequalled life of Jesus of Nazareth. need scarcely be said that we do not igno the contributions made by other great teac ers of this and previous generations, a that we do not advocate slavish imitation Jesus in all the details of life. Rather, w seek to catch his spirit, reproduce his temp and make our decisions on the basis of t same eternal principles which guided him all his choices. Because we believe in t God of Jesus and accept his appraisal human nature, we shall from time to tim propose certain courses of action which ma appear to some of our contemporaries as t height of impracticability, but which to seem the only way to richer and fuller li for humanity.

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. IX. OCTOBER, 1926 No. 5

Non-Violence—The Greatest Force

M. K. GANDHI

NON-VIOLENCE is the greatest force man has been endowed with. Truth is the only goal he has. For God is none other than Truth. But Truth cannot be, never will be reached except through non-violence.

That which distinguishes man from all other animals is his capacity to be non-violent. And he fulfills his mission only to the extent that he is non-violent and no more. He has no doubt many other gifts. But if they do not subserve the main purpose—the development of the spirit of non-violence in him—they but drag him down lower than the brute, a status from which he has only just emerged.

The cry for peace will be a cry in the wilderness, so long as the spirit of non-violence does not dominate millions of men and women.

An armed conflict between nations horrifies us. But the economic war is no better than an armed conflict. This is like a surgical operation. An economic war is prolonged torture. And its ravages are no less terrible than those depicted in the literature on war properly so-called. We think nothing of the other because we are used to its deadly effects.

Many of us in India shudder to see blood spilled. Many of us resent cow slaughter, but we think nothing of the slow torture through which by our greed we put our people and cattle. But because we are used to this lingering death, we think no more about it.

THE movement against war is sound. I pray for its success. But I cannot help the gnawing fear that the movement will fail, if it does not touch the root of all evil—man's greed.

Will America, England and the other great nations of the West continue to exploit the so-called weaker or uncivilized races and hope to attain peace that the whole world is pining for? Or will Americans continue to prey upon one another, have commercial rivalries and yet expect to dictate peace to the world?

Not till the spirit is changed, can the form be altered. The form is merely an expression of the spirit within. We may succeed in seemingly altering the form but the alteration will be a mere make believe, if the spirit within remains unalterable. A whited sepulchre still conceals beneath it the rotting flesh and bone.

Far be it from me, to discount or under-rate the great effort that is being made in the West to kill the war-spirit. Mine is merely a word of caution as from a fellow seeker who has been striving in his own humble manner after the same thing, maybe in a different way, no doubt on a much smaller scale. But if the experiment demonstrably succeeds on the smaller field and, if those who are working on the larger field have not overtaken me, it will at least pave the way for a similar experiment on a large field.

I OBSERVE in the limited field in which I find myself, that unless I can reach the hearts of men and women, I am able to do nothing. I observe further that so long as the spirit of hate persists in some shape or other, it is impossible to establish peace or to gain our freedom by peaceful effort. We cannot love one another, if we hate Englishmen. We cannot love the Japanese and hate Englishmen. We must either let the law of love rule us through and through or not at all. Love among ourselves based on hatred of others breaks down under the slightest pressure. The fact is, such love is never real love. It is an armed peace. And so it will be in this great movement in the West against War. War will only be stopped when the conscience of mankind has become sufficiently elevated to recognize the undisputed supremacy of the Law of Love in all the walks of life. Some say this will never come to pass. I shall retain the faith till the end of my earthly existence that it shall come to pass.

Militarizing Our Minds

H. A. OVERSTREET

CAN the leopard change his spots? Can the cactus shed its thorns? The expected answer is No! Spots are spots and thorns are thorns and never the twain shall alter. But the modern scientist laughs at that. A little wise selection; a little forced mating; and spots becomes less spotty; thorns curl up and disappear.

Most of us take it for granted that the spirit and outlook of a people are as fixed as spots and thorns. Americans are Americans and fated always to be precisely what they now are. But the modern political psychologist smiles at that. He knows that a people constitutes the most impressionable material in the world, and that a little wise selection (particularly of text books and newspapers and celebrations), a little forced discipline, and what was strong becomes weak among them; what was weak becomes strong. There is nothing, in short, that is fixed about the spirit and outlook of a people. Everything depends upon what the forces are that control.

It is for that reason that some of us begin to be concerned about America. We begin to wonder whether a certain humaneness and generosity of outlook are not threatened; whether the America that we have learned to love is not being subtly changed into another America, an America that the world may yet roundly hate. Inconceivable? But it has occurred elsewhere and may yet occur among ourselves. Everything depends upon who and what control the shaping of our minds.

Enter the Military

Which leads us to our first point. Hitherto, in America, the military have had no leadership either in education or in public discussion. We have honored them in their military capacity; but, like all democratic peoples, we have most jealously guarded against their intrusion into our political and educational life. Today, however, the bars are curiously down. In scores of ways the military are entering our civil life, arrogating to themselves there a vigorous leadership they were never meant to have. Is the Prussianizing process beginning?

To the ordinary, easy-going American this may seem a rather preposterous question to ask. Our military may be first in war, but they hardly seek to be first in peace. Let him, however, visit the publicity bureau of the War Department in Washington—something quite new of its kind in America—and look over the scores of releases and future releases of speeches and articles, all earnestly, sometimes truculently, concerned with shaping the future policy of America, and he will realize that the War Department, both in its army and navy branches, has assumed unto itself, in an astounding and unprecedented way, the business of educating the social and political mind of America. He will note such titles as "Penalties of Pacifism," "Preparedness and Peace," "Industrial Preparedness," "Adequate Provision for National Defense" etc.

Then let him, if he will, read a fair sampling of newspapers throughout the land. He will find typical statements like this (quoted from the Indianapolis *News*): "General Dwight E. Aultman, Commandant Ft. Benjamin Harrison, made a plea . . . in the interest of the Citizens Military Training Camp. He referred to what he called the impotency of the League of Nations. . . 'We cannot resolve war out of existence. Neither can we solve it by treaty.' . . . He asserted, the pacifist movement was insidious and was milking the sincere friends of peace to pay professionals to preach false propaganda."

The quotation is wholly typical. It represents what scores of generals, colonels, majors and officers of all ranks are saying in one public meeting after another. These military gentlemen do not confine themselves to their official business of war and the preparation for war. They now turn statesmen. They pronounce judgment upon our national and international policies. They put the ban on social movements. They define for us our patriotism. They take it to be their task, to arouse and re-educate the mind of America.

To what are they trying to arouse America? Let me quote excerpts from a report of a lecture given in a course on Military Psychology to the R.O.T.C. at Camp Kearney:

"Gentlemen, this is a period of truce. The great wars of the world have not been fought. . . . Gentlemen, I envy you. You are coming to a stage when not only your nation but all western civilization is threatened. You are to become military leaders.

"You will be obliged to fight for all you hold most dear. Your white women must continue to bear sons to white men.

"You will not let the paid secret agents of foreign enemies blind your eyes.

"Gentlemen, there will be wars to the end of time. Everlasting peace is for the grave—not for life. The wish for everlasting peace is born of fear and ignorance.

"There are few new worlds on this planet. The strong will survive. The weak must perish. Steel your arms and draft your bodies for the greatest war that the world has ever seen."

Perhaps that was a little extreme. However, a perusal of the speeches of army officers throughout the land indicates a very definite philosophy which they are attempting to promulgate. It is a philosophy of international distrust, of fear, of scepticism as to any escape from resort to war. It is a philosophy of aggressive nationalism. Internationalism they regard as a danger to their kind of patriotism. It is a philosophy of soci

ndpattism. Attempts at social and industrial reconstruction they regard as the greatest menace to the commonwealth. Equipped with this philosophy, they are advocating, on the one hand, military training, both voluntary and compulsory, and on the other, a vigorous bunding of what they lump together as communism, cifism and internationalism (which lumping together eaks volumes for the fine discrimination of their nds!)

Sometimes the thing has its amusing side. Recently the University of Kansas, Lieutenant Colonel Carl F. White was trying to stem the student agitation against ilitary drill. "Unfortunately for Colonel White, "writes e *Christian Century,* "the editors of the *Dove,* as they stened to his speech, had in their possession copies of speech delivered at Ohio State University under similar circumstances by Colonel W. M. Mumm. Colonel Mumm's remarks had been put out in pamphlet form y the National Security League. So, when Colonel White told the Kansas students that 'for the viewpoint f the truly sincere religious objector, such as the Quaker, e can have at least a sympathetic understanding; but oward the others who take this attitude, I have a feeling f pity mingled with contempt, because their action prings either from the twisted mentality of a moron, or rom an inborn yellow streak as broad as their backs,' he Kansas students read at the same time in Colonel Mumm's pamphlet, 'For the viewpoint of the truly sincere religious objector . . . ' (and so on to the end of hat moronic statement). And while Colonel White was declaring, 'The man who wouldn't fight for his country n her hour of need would not fight to protect the chastity f his sister or the honor of his mother,' the students were reading Colonel Mumm to the effect that, 'the man who wouldn't fight for his country in her hour of need . . .' And so on to the extent of two long parallel columns which the editors were mean enough to print." Of course it is a well known fact, that many, if not most of the speeches and magazine articles by army officers, are written by men in the War Department, especially detailed for this work because of their training and ability. There is complete centralized control of the War Department's publicity. Some six months ago General Fries, head of the Chemical Warfare Division of the War Department, engineered a good deal of publicity of his own; but being strongly reprimanded, it is now well understood that all releases must issue from one central publicity department. Which may have its excellent side —but also its side sinister!

All this is something startlingly new in American life. A War Department sending out its educational pamphlets all over the land; generals and colonels and admirals arguing earnestly on the public platform, speaking the speeches that are written for them to speak! Let me quote a significant statement from the *Army and Navy Journal* anent the anticipated appointment of Major General Summerall as Chief of Staff. "General Summerall demonstrated during the World War that he was a great commander; he has demonstrated since the war to the satisfaction of the officials in Washington a civic leadership which has been of direct value to the Army. His relations with church dignitaries, state and municipal officials in New York, and with big business men have been exceedingly close and beneficial; and the addresses he has made have been inspiring and sound." All of which must make the old-fashioned American, jealous of his non-military democracy, shift a little uneasily in his seat.

All's Fair in Love and War

But this is not the worst. We might feel inclined—since we ardently believe in free speech—to permit our military officers to air their social, political and world views, provided they are *their* views and not the views of a military *bloc.* But when the whole thing enters the stage of misrepresentation and vilification, we begin to be a bit uneasy. In June, 1924, the New York *World* printed three long articles by Leonard L. Cline, their staff correspondent in Washington, exposing the War Department's unjustified attacks on certain women's organizations. Americans will remember the notorious Spider Web Chart, which might have been spun by the Czarist police. Although the War Department made a retraction, such attacks go on, mainly through individual army officers or through associated army organizations. To take a typical instance: On March 7, General Bowley spoke before the Chamber of Commerce at Columbus, Ohio, attacking principally the National Council for Prevention of War and its chief executive, Frederick J. Libby. According to five affiants, General Bowley made specific accusations against the National Council for Prevention of War and particularly Mr. Libby, declaring among other things, that Mr. Libby was educated in Russia for the promotion of Communism; that after returning from Russia, he taught Communism in Pennsylvania; that he and his associate take turns in visiting Russia to get instructions direct from the Soviet Government; and so on and so on. All of which is preposterously untrue, Mr. Libby never having been in Russia. When General Bowley was challenged for proofs, he first called attention to articles in the *Dearborn Independent* and referred for documentary evidence to three other men, J. S. Eichelberger, Editor of the *Woman Patriot,* Fred R. Marvin, Editor of the *New York Commercial,* and R. M. Whitney of the American Defense Society.

Pressed further for proofs, he assured the inquirer that he had made a careful study of the work of the radicals throughout the country and was extremely careful to make no statements he could not prove. But he gave no proofs. Pressed still further, he wrote in answer: "I find that my friends are carefully preparing a brief that will stand in a court of law. Inasmuch as they want everything just right, they are taking more time than anticipated. However, you will have proof of my remarks, and more too, before many days." But no proofs came. Which again disturbs us a little, for we had heard about the honor of a military gentleman.

The General's dilemma reminds us of the answer reported to have been given by Mr. Whitney of the American Defense Society when pressed for documentary proofs of accusations which he had made. "I would be a greater fool," he said, with apparent naivete, "than my

worst enemies accuse me of being, were I to let such documents out of my possession."

The Interlocking System

But of course the military could never do all this alone. That is what the easy-going American means by saying that it is all preposterous. As a matter of fact, there has grown up in America a rather sinister interlocking and intercommunicating system of the military and the military-minded.

The first line of attack is the group of army and navy officers. The second is the army and navy service associations. These associations are open only to men in the service, but as they are not considered official, they may, in their magazines, print pretty much what they please. The third line of assault is the Reserve Officers Association. This is composed of men who have had military training and who stand ready to respond to a call to arms. They number some 90,000, scattered throughout most of the communities of the land. As they carry military titles, they speak with prestige; but as they are not in the pay of the Government, what they say is completely unrestricted. They can therefore be effectively utilized to propound views which a War Department itself could not properly utter.

A fourth line of attack is the Military Intelligence Association. This is composed of veterans and reserve officers seeking out information for the War Department. It functions chiefly against so-called "foes" of the republic, and, being unofficial, can use such methods and make such attacks as it will. A fifth line of attack is the Military Training Camps Association, which functions to support the movement for military training and military preparedness.

A sixth line of attack are the various veterans associations like the American Legion, the Military Order of the World War, Military Order of the Loyal Legion, etc. By including them here, we are making no blanket condemnation of their activities. Quite the contrary. In many respects their patriotic activities are of the finest and most necessary kind. Nevertheless it must be conceded, that rightly or wrongly, they constitute a powerful support of the militarizing tendencies now in vogue. The same may be said of the seventh line of attack, composed of societies specially organized for the "defense of the constitution and all our traditional institutions." They include the American Defense Society, the National Security League, the National Civic Federation, the Sentinels of the Republic, etc. The program of these societies includes a vigorous support of a preparedness program, and the creation of the type of patriotism and citizenship which they deem essential to the perpetuation of our traditional institutions.

An eighth line of attack are such periodicals as the Army and Navy Journal, the Army and Navy Register, etc.

All these lines effectively interlock. There is close communication and cooperation between all of them. Whatever material, for example, is collected by the publicity bureau of the War and Navy Departments or by the Military Intelligence Association is apparently made available to these other associations; and whatever these other associations fer ret out is made available to the R. O. A. and the regula army officers.

Molding The Minds

So much for the powerful interlocking system. Wha shape of mind these powers intend to mold can best be dis covered by studying the appeals which they make.

There is first the appeal to glamor and glory. Despit the fact that war is about the most abominable thing o earth, military life is still pictured as colorful and joyous This is done perhaps most effectively through the film. I the month of January, 1926, we find the following item listed on the Pathé News reels: British Navy "Gobs; Japanese Sea Scouts Train on Government Warships; Boy 6 to 14 Receive Actual Experience in Navy Routine Unde Direction of Trained Officers; Non-Rigid Training Shi Makes Initial Flight; 24 Seaplanes Leave Base for Winte Maneuvers; Navy's Nervy Pilots Guide Seaplanes on Ho From Deck; Laying High Power T. N. T. Mines to Tr Out Their Efficiency as Part of Harbor Defense; Mine Exploded From Shore Station; etc. There is a special voca bulary used in commenting on these war pictures to th audience. Typical expressions are 'war dogs,' 'mighty war riors,' 'thrilling,' 'battle,' 'the enemy,' 'attack,' 'grim pro cession,' 'mightiest,' 'mighty battle fleet,' 'giant,' 'spectacu lar,' 'thrilling war tests,' 'greatest in the world,' 'largest yet So it continues throughout February and March and Apr and all the other months. And now Will Hays has jus been appointed lieutenant-colonel in the Adjutant General' Department Reserve and Jesse Lasky a major in the Signa Corps Reserve!

Then there are the military camps. I quote from a Dalla paper: "Those folks who profess against teaching boy how to be soldiers might get a change of heart after seein this week's *Times Herald-Melba* theatre close-ups, showin Dallas R. O. T. C. units and the training they receive a Camp Dallas.

"From the bright, contented, happy expressions on th faces of the youngsters themselves, there is apparently n objection to the teaching on their own part."

Then there are public gatherings, especially fairs. Th writer who bitterly declared, "No More Parades," would b heartily out of favor here. The fair is a happy trampin ground for uniformed paraders. Up to the middle of th summer, the Sesquicentennial in Philadelphia has bee little else than an Army and Navy affair, military parades cavalry maneuvers, tank drills, bayonet charges (done wit brutal growls) having been the rule nearly every day. I will also be remembered from the hearings on the Shenan doah disaster that the dirigible, against the advice of it commander, was being sent on a publicity flight to severa mid-western fairs.

"Make The Uniform Attractive": that is the first rule i this psychological game. Which, of course, is the best o pedagogy and terribly effective. So the goose-stepping be gins!

The second appeal is to fear. It would be an amusin appeal were it not so demoralizing in its effect upon ou national character. This is the way the excited warning

n: We are a rich nation; other nations are coveting our hes. Beware! The European nations are not to be usted. Beware! The European nations respect only our wer of defense. Beware! The yellow races will descend on us. Beware! The Negroes will be up in arms. Beare! The Communists are seeking to "overthrow our overnment by force." Beware! The pacifists are trying disarm us, to the end that the Bolsheviki may enter in oody triumph. Beware! Jane Addams is in the pay of oscow—if not directly, then indirectly. Beware, beware! he may not know it, but she is. Beware! She is a good oman, but deluded. Beware!

It is the familiar Bogey-Man Technique, chief resort of e pedagogic nurse maid.

Hark! hark! hark! Here comes the Bogey Man!
Look out, you good Americans, he'll catch you if he can!

nd so a Bogey Man Day is engineered for red blooded mericans. It is called National Defense Day, on which very one is invited to look patriotically fierce so as to frighten way the wicked people, within and without, who covet our irtuous riches.

The third appeal is to pride. The text-books of our children are carefully expurgated and rewritten so as to show our national achievements in a glowing light. On a certain day in the year, the navy is spread out upon the waters and upon reams of paper; and we are bidden to stop, look and feel big. We are reminded that we are a great people; that the Constitution is pretty nearly the word of God; that when it comes to democracy and freedom and the opportunity for everyone to get the needful, there is no nation like ours. We do not sing "Deutschland über Alles," but we exultantly intone "America First." Or if we do not, we are rather insultingly asked the reason why.

The fourth appeal is the familiar, fallacious appeal to history. "The pacifists talk about abolishing war. Have they read their history? Has there ever been a time when nations have not been compelled to settle their differences by force of arms?" Which is exactly like saying, in the year 1825: "This idiot talks of flying machines. Has there, I ask you, gentlemen, ever yet been a time in history when man has been able to mount the air?"

Finally, there is the Red Herring, made in Moscow, and called the Third International. It is a most convenient Red Herring, serving uncomplainingly to be drawn across the trail of any and every argument. Just what the Third International is, most of us have only the vaguest notion. It is a kind of composite picture of Lenin, Trotsky, some wild-haired labor agitators, and the Slavic Peril. We no sooner settle down to a serious contemplation of how the world may be organized more sanely and humanely than someone bursts in upon us with a breathless, "Look to your arms! The Third International!" Nearly everybody who is interested in a decent re-ordering of our social and political ways is in the pay of the Third International. The marvelous depths of its treasury have never yet been plumbed; but the depths, we are assured, are there. It is all very disturbing, particularly when the whispers go round that the Third International may be living right next door to us, may be teaching our beloved children, or waiting to put bombs in our soup.

Capturing Education

The basic technique of militarism, of course, is to capture the schools. It has always been the leading factor in any program to refashion the mind of the nation. Shall the military capture our schools for military ideals? That they are not only invading but planning further invasion is fully enough in evidence.

At the bottom of all this military philosophy which is being so vigorously and also insidiously promulgated throughout the schools of the country are two ideas: first, a scepticism as to any save a warlike means of settling international disputes; and second, an ill-concealed admiration for the warlike virtues.

And there is where the danger lies to the America that we ardently love. To lure our children and our young men with the glitter and the glory of military life; to tickle them with military titles, is dangerous enough. But to make them sceptical of the great effort that is at last being made throughout the world to find a more decent way of international life; to lead them to join in the sneers at those who work for a peace that shall be permanent; to fill their minds with base fears of their neighbor peoples; to bring them up suspicious of every concerted effort after social, political, and industrial betterment—this is profoundly and tragically to change the mind of America.

Mahatma Gandhi

(To Romain Rolland)

IF I could scrawl a great zig-zag of stars
Against the dark, I would write 'Gandhi'. Then
We might look up where like young Avatars
Above our dust bright planets sing to men
Words written plainly on our own hearts' pages—
(But them we keep unturned, lest God divining
We might go stripped of thirty pence for wages.)
Yet, lifted up to the immaculate shining
Of other worlds, eyes may be clarified.
"He counts the vilest brother. He is meek.
His patience sets men's thoughts where things abide.
He seeks no praise." Thus stars and prophets speak.
There I'd put Gandhi's name and with the faint,
Sweet Pleiades for letters I'd add, "Saint."

Ellen Chater.

The Unknown Spark

OUT of the dust I came, and I shall go
Back to the dust. A sweet and unseen flame
Will charily consume my careful frame,
And in the ardor of its yellow glow
Many an insect, many a root will grow,
Nourished and warmed by what had once my name
And spoke my thoughts. Out of the dust I came
And toward the ocean of all dust I flow.
And yet, when I recall the certain ill
This body knew and faced: when I recall
The times this brain, defeated, said, "I must,"
And did the thing, by empery of will,
I ask: Did man, that conscious animal,
Strike his grim fire from a grave of dust?

S. Griswold Morley.

Students and National Defense

BRIG. GEN. L. R. GIGNILLIAT

ALTHOUGH military training has been given under Congressional authority in certain American state universities and colleges since 1862 (it was established in the thick of the Civil War) as our best and least expensive form of preparedness, not until two or three years ago was any outcry made against it. But in the last year or so pacifists and peace advocates, well-meaning no doubt, have singled it out for attack. We have just heard, in the state of Nebraska (where a fight was on to prohibit the requirement of military training in the state university) a new and vociferous crop of antagonists striving to stampede the public, linking this extremely modified form of preparedness with talk of "the war party," of "the militarists" and of "military propaganda."

By such terms do they characterize the supporters of reserve officers' training. Early in that campaign the opposition attempted to lead the citizens to believe such assertions as, "a boy may not graduate from the university (of Nebraska), supported by the taxes of the people, unless he can show proficiency in the art of killing," and, "he may not know how to spell or punctuate correctly, but he must know how to use a bayonet."

Before proceeding further I wish to state with all the emphasis that it is possible for print to convey, that it is not my aim to bring into doubt the sincerity of purpose or the patriotism of any objector to military training. I deny no man the right to his opinions. But it is also the right of those who do not believe in a change to challenge those opinions.

Among those who cannot adopt the pacifist views are the ex-soldiers who fought in the last war and who do not yearn for another such experience and the vast majority of the 531 members of the Congress which passed the National Defense Act of 1920 (after much deliberation and advice from authorities on defense needs).

THE great lesson we learned in the last war was that America's tremendous manpower reserve is useless unless, when needed, it could be put in charge of men who are acquainted with at least the fundamentals of leading the green troops who would be called to the colors in an emergency. It is the function of the Reserve Officers Training Corps units in the schools and the colleges, against which complaint is now lodged, to give to the cadets enrolled in them the rudiments of officership, so that some of these cadets may replace the reserve officers who are dropping out of the ranks as they grow older, and others may fill vacancies existing in the reserve forces which have not yet, after six years of this training, been filled, small though the reserve is.

That there are today some 21,000 vacancies in the Officers Reserve Corps despite the fact that a large percentage of the war-time, non-professional officers has remained on the reserve rolls and the R.O.T.C. has been operating for six years, is evidence enough that the R. O. T. C., far from being a militaristic influence, accomplishes on the present limited plan less than the need. In other words, there are today 21,000 places in the O. R. C. for which youths, were they anxious to identify themselves with war and war instru mentalities, could easily qualify by a little work and study

A careful and unbiased examination of just what the R.O.T.C. is and what it requires of the cadet is illuminating. The training is a prescribed course given in certain institutions by arrangement with the War Department. It follows closely the plan and purpose of the military training first authorized by Congress in the Morrill Act of 1862.

This training was first introduced in the so-called Land Grant colleges, which in return for an annual allotment of funds from the Government agreed to offer a course in military training. Note that the only stipulation of this law is that the schools sharing these moneys shall *offer* their students an opportunity to enroll in the military training course.

IN the act of 1920 Congress authorized the installation of R.O.T.C. courses in the Land Grant colleges and in such other institutions as could enroll a specified number for the course and provided some equipment for the training and regular army officers for instructors. The number of institutions in which the R.O.T.C. training was introduced and is being maintained is very limited, due to the fact that the War Department does not have sufficient funds to supply instructors for a larger number of units. In a recent address the Secretary of War revealed that many petitions for units have had to be denied because of the meager appropriations.

The prescribed course for college students, known as the senior course, requires 96 hours of work each in the freshman and in the sophomore year. This work is divided as follows:

First Year

I	Infantry Drill Regulations, i.e. actual drill	65 hours
II	Rifle marksmanship, instruction and practice	13 hours
III	Scouting and patrolling	8 hours
IV	Physical training in addition to drill	8 hours
V	Military courtesy	2 hours

Second Year

I	Map reading and military sketching	24 hours
II	Infantry weapons	26 hours
III	Musketry	24 hours
IV	Command and leadership	16 hours
V	Military hygiene, sanitation and first aid	6 hours

Now any fair-minded individual of sound judgment must admit that in the two years' training outlined in the preceding paragraphs there can be nothing militaristic or bloodthirsty. But I am not content to rest the case with general assertions. The American Legion has made an exhaustive survey of the school and college military training. It ha

ought the opinion of college presidents, deans, coaches, eurologists, and others, all of whom have in one or nother way been brought into intimate contact with tudents in schools having compulsory or voluntary partiipation in military training units. On their testimony we an consider the question without regard to its necessity or fficacy in national defense, and wholly on the propriety of s being in the American educational scheme, and whether is militarizing the cadets.

Only opinions of non-military, and therefore unbiased, nen are included in the views that I shall present. The rguments in favor of military training that might be made y soldiers and outstanding experts in national defense are ot adduced here. As an educational question the opinions f qualified educators are given the principal consideration.

These men were asked to state their general impressions f the effect of military training on the student. They were sked especially to say: Does such training make the stuent militaristic or blood-thirsty? If not, does it have any ther injurious or harmful effects? Does it have any benecial effects? Do you find it prejudicial to college work? Does it hinder the student in any way? Does it help the tudents in any way?

With notably few exceptions the educators find military raining a constructive, useful course in education. They ind no evidence that it militarizes American boys. They gree that it has a very beneficial school influence. They are convinced that it not only aids the youth better to appreciate is duties and to fit him for responsibility, but that it also mproves and reënforces the quality of his scholarship.

ON the compulsory issue I call attention to some facts which apparently are overlooked. First, military raining is not compulsory in all the colleges that have R.O.T.C. units. Next, even in the compulsory schools, enrollment in the R.O.T.C. units is required in only two f the four years. Further, let us keep in mind that this raining is not required by the War Department nor any branch of the Federal government, but by the individual colleges. Colleges cannot be prohibited from prescribing the work that shall be done for certificates of graduation.

If colleges have a right to require of candidates for diplomas to complete a certain number of hours in a foreign language or in chemistry or physical training, why may they not also require a certain number of hours of military training?

At Yale every freshman must take English and history. At Williams and at Amherst every student must take Latin. Practically all important schools require the student to take certain "compulsories" along with his electives.

And now to the educators' opinions. Dean Everett W. Lord, of Boston University, says: "The course in military science is compulsory at this college as it is in many others, because we consider it fully as important as English and mathematics and economics and foreign languages and history, all of which are compulsory."

So far as the public universities are concerned the case is admirably stated by President W. W. Campbell, of the University of California, who says: "The people of California, through their representatives duly chosen, have determined and said how the young men of this state may attend the University of California, not as an inherent right, but as a privilege. They may have this inestimable privilege provided, among other things, that they pay to the University somewhere from one quarter to one fifteenth of the cost of the services rendered to them by the state through the university; and provided, further, that they take military training two hours per week for two years, or about 130 hours altogether, in their college career."

Dr. John Lee Coulter, president of North Dakota Agricultural College, believes that military training results in a more intelligent public opinion with reference to military, economic and international affairs, and believes that it supplies deficiencies that exist in physical training in most colleges. "It goes without saying," he says, "that one of the tasks of the college is to train leaders for our modern complex civilization. I look upon the military feature only as a necessary means to the accomplishment in its fullest measure of the ends and purposes of the college as a whole."

Dr. T. O. Walton, president of the Mechanical and Agricultural College of Texas, says that military training has made a "true democracy" among his students and he has found it especially serviceable in its physical training and disciplinary features.

Further demonstrating that training is not incompatible with the best college work Dr. Livingston Farrand, president of Cornell University, says: "I have no sympathy whatever with the extreme position taken by those who are opposed to military instruction in our colleges. On the contrary my experience at Cornell has led me to regard the influence of the military training as here conducted as beneficial and as in no way tending to 'militarize' the student body in an unwholesome way."

From the president of the University of South Dakota, Dr. Robert L. Slagel, we have this: "Military training in this school is a positive influence for good; it gives the men an insight into the needs of public spirited men in the home communities and shows them that patriotism is not a matter of flag-waving. In this respect it is the premier course in the training for citizenship. The effect of the training has been most marked in the development of the awkward, backward, hestitating type of young men."

"We consider the work of the R.O.T.C. equal to that of any we offer here in technical or basic science departments," says Dr. Charles A. Lory, president of the State Agricultural College, of Ft. Collins, Col. "The subject matter offered is of high collegiate grade. The courses in military history and military policy are good training in citizenship. While the technical work in signaling, equitation, transportaton and gunnery offer excellent training, with much useful information, the practical work develops leadership, habits of neatness and orderliness, ability to take and give orders, and is conducive to health and skill." From other sources we also discover that schools are now seeing the importance of educating the whole boy, not merely the mind. We find that there are things equally as important to the student as the travels of Marco Polo, Newton's Law, and other knowledge from books.

"Whatever may be its weaknesses the R.O.T.C. is one

agency in the university, in which civic service and relations are given a practical setting," says Dr. Edward C. Elliott, president of Purdue University. "At Purdue University the R. O. T. C. is regarded as an integral and valuable element in the plan of technical education to which this institution is primarily devoted."

Another evidence that the R.O.T.C. work is far from detrimental to the scholar is supplied by Dr. M. L. Brittain, president of the Georgia School of Technology:

"I regard the R.O.T.C. work as definitely valuable. Physically, drill is beneficial, mentally, the discipline is eminently worth while in this day of so much indifference to restraint in law, and even spiritually it has its values in the way of inspiration and patriotic ideals."

Now what is to be said about military training making militarists?

This from Dr. C. W. Newhall, Headmaster of Shattuck School, a well-known military preparatory school: "Shattuck School has sent more of its graduates into the ministry than into the army and to the navy combined (not counting those who volunteered in the late war)."

This from William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, on a visit to the Citizens Military Training Camp at Plattsburg, N. Y., last August: "The boys here in camp are leading healthy normal lives. Speaking from my observation of the work of the last three days the boys pass more time in sport and doing the things every normal boy likes and wants to do than at drill. I prefer to think General Summerall and his associates of the army who are supervising the training of the boys are making men more than fighting machines."

This from Dr. John Grier Hibben, president of Princeton University: "Our young men who have taken the military courses have been benefited by them, both morally and physically. I feel that our artillery unit at Princeton can be regarded as one of the great agencies in our country for the conservation of peace, both in the immediate and in the far distant future."

Surely there could be no better refutation of the accusations leveled against the R.O.T.C. as a militaristic enterprise.

LET me give one more view, that of an outstanding neurologist and psychiatrist, Dr. Walter Timme, of New York, who says: "Military training for boys, as it is given in the R. O. T. C. units in schools and colleges, is, in my opinion, the very best method of inculcating respect for law and order and increasing the boy's self-respect. Nothing better in an educational line has made its appearance in this present century and I heartily endorse it. The gangs and hold-up youths are the blood-thirsty types and are quite free from such disciplinary education as the R. O. T. C. advances."

The R. O. T. C. certainly is not militaristic in the opinion of Dr. Charles B. Dicken, president of Ouachita College, a college of the Baptist Church. "The R. O. T. C. makes a distinct contribution to this institution," he says. "It in no way interferes with the operation of a Christian college. The health, discipline and training of the students for character building as well as culture is a distinct contribution of the R. O. T. C. All of these are contemplated in the ideal of the Christian college."

American boys, in this modern society, get ample encouragement to follow their own inclinations. Parental restraints have become apathetic. The schools and college must accept the additional burden of teaching duties that t modern youth may seem irksome or unnecessary. Good citizenship can only be constructed by teaching boys to d thoroughly and honestly the tasks each day set before them Military training is better able to accomplish these ends tha any other educative process in American life.

I do not believe America becomes less pacific because o this training. On the contrary, I believe a man is incline to be less enthusiastic for war, when he knows from hi training something of the cost and the horrors of war, an his training makes him eligible for first call.

What shall the nation's defense reliance be? Democrati reserves, partially trained in the schools, or a growing forc of professional soldiers? A commonsense regard for safet demands one or the other.

Pathetic Fallacy

WHERE is the scholar
Who knows how
The first wild poem
Grew on a bough?

Not the pert goldfinch
For all he can say,
Nor the loud phoebe
Of almost May;

Least of all the catbird,
Whose clever tone
Repeats every wisdom
Except his own.

This much is certain:
Once in a wood
I was stopped by a young white
Sisterhood.

I stared till my eyes were
Too dazed to be focussed.
Was it a virgin
Changed to a locust?

Or dense wistaria
At half-moon rise
Clustered in swarms of
Butterflies?

They published themselves
For the casual few.
Yet the more I observed,
The less I knew.

So I ask the scholars
If they know how
To read a wild poem
Hung on a bough?

LOUIS UNTERMEYER.

Training Citizens—For What?

GEORGE A. COE

THE endeavor to fasten upon us universal compulsory military training has failed. Defense Day has failed. The Reserve Officers Training Corps is failing. But the Citizens Military Training Camps are growing, as yet, both in size and in popular favor.

The War Department Assumes the Role of Educator

What is a C.M.T.C.? That is, what is it in terms of the making of our civilization? What is the meaning of "Military" in the title? The promoters of the camps declare in season and out of season that the main purpose is not military training or the making of soldiers, but training in citizenship. This job—training citizens—has been committed to the War Department, we are told, because no other branch of the Federal government is qualified to do the work; no other branch has the personnel; as one officer stated, no other branch could provide the necessary military training. A second reason appears to be that, since the Federal government does not appropriate money directly to education in the states, an indirect route for the expenditure had to be found. Military men assure us that, as far as the main object is concerned, the camps might just as well be under the administration of some other department.

There is no need to question the general sincerity of such statements. "Training for citizenship," *as some persons understand citizenship*, is the main and inclusive purpose. Of course the promoters 'put their best foot forward' in their choice of descriptive terms, but this is not a cause for complaint. One finds, indeed, a gratifying degree of frankness on the part of the leaders and camp officers. You can learn for the asking practically anything about the administration of the scheme; you can obtain copies of official documents; visitors are welcome at the camps, where polite officers invite and even urge you to satisfy your curiosity. One finds sometimes an openness that is winsomely naive, as in the following incident: A civilian wrote to the commandant of one of the camps asking at what hours an outsider might visit a class in citizenship. The commandant did more than reply to the inquiry. He added: "If you feel that you would care to do so, I would be very glad to have you address the trainees on the duties, privileges and responsibilities of American citizenship for, say, 30 minutes. . . . From your manifest interest in the subject I feel sure you are well qualified to give the benefit of your viewpoint in these lines." The inquirer and the officer were strangers to each other!

War Department's Idea of Citizenship

The production of a certain kind of citizenship is the end in view. What kind? On this question the validity of the entire scheme depends. If the commandant just mentioned had guessed that his correspondent is opposed to the War Department's philosophy of "national defense," would the invitation to address the trainees have been given? What is good citizenship according to the theory that underlies the C.M.T.C. movement?

The evidence on this point is abundant, and it is accessible to everyone. Though almost every virtue is said to be cultivated in the camps (as: neatness, promptness, alertness, self-reliance, self-respect, democratic fellowship, regard for the rights of others, moral courage, respect for religion), the center of gravity is in another group of qualities, namely: health, obedience, and patriotism.

Obedience to what, and under what conditions and limits? As far as one can see or guess, the response of a soldier to the command of an officer is the typical case. "Theirs not to reason why." This, obviously, differs greatly from the obedience that is needed in non-military relationships. And what is patriotism, according to C.M.T.C. philosophy? Here we have about four weeks of teaching, with careful allotment of hours and minutes to the various phases of citizenship as it is understood. The time-schedule, therefore, will indicate the underlying thought. Let us, then, examine an ordinary camp program.

Speaking now of the first-year trainees only, and excluding from consideration calisthenics and athletics, one finds that 4½ hours a day for five or even six days a week are given to specific and designated kinds of instruction. In the entire four weeks just three hours are allotted to "citizenship." On each of two of the days when one hour is alloted to citizenship, 3½ hours are given to military instruction (inclusive of drill); the third citizenship hour occurred on a Saturday, when the remainder of the schedule was somewhat modified. In the camp from which this particular schedule is taken, the Saturday instruction in citizenship was omitted in order to permit the young men to picnic in a canyon.

It would be an entire mistake to suppose that in the minds of the leaders three hours in four weeks represents the proportionate weight of citizenship to other interests. No; the whole camp experience is regarded as training in citizenship. That is, "display of equipment," "infantry drill," "extended order drill," "care of weapons," "scouting and patrolling," "military courtesy," and "marksmanship" are *per se* parts of the equipment of a citizen. "The idea here," said one of the trainees, "is that a good soldier is a good citizen, and so this is a camp for the development of citizenship." The three "conferences" listed under the head of citizenship provide for the whole experience a framework of historical ideas, and they likewise incite to the focussing of emotion. In some camps the number of these "conferences" or "lectures" is as great as four.

A Military View of the Greatness of America

Let us glance, now, at this framework of ideas. It is set forth in pamphlets called "Training Manuals," which are publications of the United States Army. They are not text-books for the use of the students, but collections of materials and suggestions for instructors. Here one finds

the elements of a definite philosophy of nationalism, and likewise a straight-forward exposition of the theory that military training is fundamental to citizenship-training; that it is a necessity for national defense, and likewise for the occupation of peace time, because it promotes the qualities that are essential for industrial development, namely: "sound physique, intelligence, skill, loyalty, and soldierly character."

The expositions, quotations, and incidents used in these pamphlets center in the Declaration of Independence, the Revolutionary War, the Constitution, the industrial development and greatness of the nation, the necessity of teamwork, the requirements of national defense, and the nature and necessity of military training. The whole constitutes a boost for political, industrial, and military America. A youth who comes under its influence will be filled with pride of country; he will unquestionably assume that the greatness of our land rests upon its industrial and military strength, and he will be ready to spring to arms whenever he is told by the constituted authorities to do so. This is the intent of the camps, and it explains why so much strictly military instruction and drill is included under the general concept of citizenship.

The Rationale of the Curriculum

One of the manuals expresses the point of view of the training-camp movement as follows: "The larger plans for national defense enlist the services of the Army in upgrading the manpower of the Nation through training and discipline to the end that the economic and civil efficiency of the individual in peace-time may become a distinct military asset in time of war."

If anything more were needed in order to make luminous the meaning of the C.M.T.C., one might notice the general organization of the curriculum. A four-years' course is offered, with specified conditions of promotion, and with increasing specialization of studies. Now, the specialization, and the conditions for promotion, all run towards particular functions in the Army, not towards intensive study of citizenship. "The Basic Course has a minimum of military training and a maximum of athletic and recreational activities. The military training is progressive through the four years. After completing a Basic camp, . . . the candidate selects the branch of the service in which he wants to be trained. . . . He may select Infantry, Cavalry, Field Artillery, Coast Artillery, Signal Corps or Engineers;" all of which has in view a possible commission in the Officers' Reserve Corps.

Such are the facts. They are open to everybody. Endeavor has been made to state them so fairly that both the promoters and the opponents of the system can agree upon them as a basis for discussion. What needs to be discussed is the basic conception of national greatness that underlies the whole movement, and the correlative notion of citizenship.

This Is Militaristic Nationalism

The term that best describes the point of view is *militaristic nationalism*. It is nationalism because, first, its outlook is not upon the needs and the progress of humanity but upon ourselves and our supposed interests. It is nationalism, in the second place, because no principles are developed whereby ethical judgments may be passed upon nation conduct. There is an unexpressed assumption that we a to work vigorously for industrial and military strength, a that if anybody gets into our way we are to fight. The is no provision for ethical discrimination between wars, mu less for an ethical evaluation of the war system as a whol The problem of eliminating war does not arise in such ci zenship-training. The judgment of the individual, mor over, does not count; what is wanted is to melt all the ma hood-metal of the nation into one shell-casing.

When we call the philosophy of the C.M.T.C. "militarism we use the term in its ordinary sense. Militarism does n mean bloodthirstiness; it does not mean desiring war. youth who had attended a camp was surprised to learn th Army officers do not want war. He should not have be surprised, for scarcely anybody in all the world wants But many desire to maintain in peace time a mode of i dustrial, financial, and diplomatic conduct that leads to wa They desire peace, but they desire still more the perquisit of the war system, or at least they are confused as to th whole life-and-death issue for our civilization. Whoev stands for peace time conduct that produces war, and th for the wars thus produced ought not to flinch if he is call a militarist.

Militarism is the point of view from which the C.M.T. proceeds in all its policies and methods. These camps a not paving the way to permanent world peace; they do n pretend to do so; they aim, rather, to build up a milita establishment that will overawe any potential enemy. O youth cannot here learn what causes wars; nor how wa paralyse the moral and material resources of peoples; n how all the nations are caught in the same net. The sta realities of the carnage in modern warfare are not reveal to these young campers. As the hideously bloody passag in the books of instruction used in the R.O.T.C. are bei cut out, so here the soft pedal is upon fighting and the lo pedal upon mere preparation for it.

In short, the Citizens Military Training Camps are e gaged in producing a type of citizenship that in peace tin will with good conscience support militaristic nationalis and in time of war will die for it. This is what fathers a mothers ought to know but are not told. The young m are being led into the old, old mode of national life whi in every war crucifies humanity but washes its hands of t blood.

The Big Idea Is Universal Voluntary Military Training

We have on our hands at present 52 of these camps. W are paying for them, in addition to the Army overhea $2,807,471 a year. The number of youths in attendance i creased from 10,000 in 1921 to 33,000 in 1925. But this intended to be only a beginning. There is a determine nation-wide movement for more camps, and yet more, un the land is permeated with their spirit. The late Preside Harding hoped to see during his administration an atten ance of at least a hundred thousand each year. Preside Coolidge hopes that each year an increasing number of your men will accept the government's invitation. Former Se retary of War Weeks said: "I hope that the time is n far distant when every young man in the country will loo

forward seriously and expectantly to his attendance at this institution for the molding of men." We are not to have universal compulsory drill, but the possibility of practically universal voluntary drill is the bee that is now buzzing in the military hat.

How the Campaign for it is Carried on

A canny campaign is being carried on, a dozen features of which are worthy of attention.

1. First comes a fetching appeal to the spirit of youth. Why not go camping with Uncle Sam at his expense? The athletic and other attractions are duly featured, and much is made of the fact that all expenses are paid—not only subsistence, but also uniforms and even railroad fare.

2. Fathers and mothers are appealed to through their boys. The camps are excellent places, we are assured, for building up both the physique and the character. Testimonials from grateful parents are printed. One boy comes home more neat; another less round-shouldered; or less shy; or more responsive to others. All this is good in its way; but the testimonials do not tell what has happened to the boy's attitudes towards war and the things that make for war. Can he see farther than before into the ways in which selfishness, greed, and the sophistries of jingoism worm themselves into our national policies? Has his ethical judgment upon the acts of his own government been sharpened? Is he more ready to make some contribution of his very own towards world peace?

3. The prestige of names high in official annals—Harding, Coolidge, Roosevelt—is utilized through specific endorsements. President Coolidge regards the camps as "essentially schools of citizenship;" also as "an essential in the plan of national security"—two conceptions that in his mind seem to be synonymous.

4. Eminent leaders in various religious faiths have been induced to lend their approval—Dr. Cyrus Adler, Cardinal Hayes, Bishop McDowell, and Bishop Manning. If space permitted, it would be interesting to print the words of these ecclesiastics in parallel columns with words of the religious prophets of whom they are supposed to be spokesmen.

5. The campaign is enlisting the interest and the services of employers. Here is one strong arm of the cause. In the 6th Corps Area alone (Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin) there are over 500 firms that have permitted young men to attend the camps with concessions as to pay, extra leave, etc. In general, the scheme is to grant to selected employees a full month's leave on pay.

6. An O.K. for the physical training in the camps has been secured from football coaches and directors of physical culture in various universities. An "intercollegiate conference" of these men "wholeheartedly" voted "Yes" on a resolution of endorsement introduced by an Army Major who was "Commissioner of the Conference."

7. There is a civilian promotional body called the Military Training Camps Association that acts as if it were an arm of the War Department. It is officially recognized as "the primary civilian agency in fostering the voluntary military training of citizens." It has a headquarters in each of the nine Corps Areas; in each there is a "Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War;" and in nearly every county of the United States someone is definitely in charge of the work. The duty of these officers is to assist the military authorities in procuring applicants for the camps, to support the R.O.T.C., and to back up "all activities of the War Department in relation to the National Defense." Propaganda is carried on in high schools, industrial establishments, and citizens clubs. The precise relation between this organization and the War Department is a bit obscure, but the main fact is clear, namely: That by this means not only may reserve officers be organized and used for propaganda purposes, but also that officers of the Army may carry on a many-sided campaign among civilians without violating the military code.

8. The intensity of the campaign is indicated by the offer of three cash prizes ($100, $50, and $25) to the three candidates entering the contest and obtaining the largest number of new candidates.

9. Endorsement has been secured from the Sons of the Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Legion and other societies that grew out of the Great War, and various Masonic, Rotary, Kiwanis, and other clubs.

10. An enormous amount of publicity, apparently somewhat organized, has been had through newspapers and moving pictures.

11. A scheme, apparently started by some of the authorities at Columbia University, has been devised for granting college and university scholarships to young men selected from the training camps. Such scholarships have been offered by 17 universities, 12 colleges, and 7 technical schools.

12. There is a drive for granting high-school credit for attendance at the camps. The following states now grant such credits: Indiana, Kentucky, New Mexico, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Virginia, West Virginia. In some other states the superintendent of education has encouraged local boards to offer this inducement.

13. The Post-Office Department has loaned its facilities to the propaganda by printing upon private envelopes an exhortation to go to the camps. A question has been raised as to the legality of this act. By what right, it is asked, does the Post-Office print its own messages upon my stationery without my consent?

14. Finally, "School Life," an educational journal published by the Federal Bureau of Education, has begun to spread the propaganda among the public-school forces of the country. The significance of this fact is so serious that an effort to understand the precise situation is in order. On May 9th last, "School Life" printed a laudatory article on the camps by a Major in the Army. A civilian wrote to the editor pointing out that educational questions require educational discussion, whereas the article in question is plain propaganda from a non-educational point of view. The question was asked whether "School Life" is "so committed to the Army propaganda that contrary points of view are excluded from its columns." On behalf of the Commissioner of Education, reply was made that: "We are not committed to any propaganda whatever;" but "we cannot under any circumstances permit 'School Life' to be the vehicle for an attack, either direct or indirect, upon the policies and methods of any branch of the United States Government."

Let anyone who desires to do so speculate upon how, in view of the fact that plain propaganda already had been printed, these two affirmations as to policy can be reconciled. In any case, it is clear that Washington officials are using the resources of several government departments to "put over" upon the people a scheme for universal military training of young men.

Is This What We Want?

Within the velvet glove of this kind of "citizenship-training" are militarism's steely fingers. They are long fingers. They reach quietly into our homes, our churches, our industries, the press, the cinema, our entire educational system. How many of our citizens are aware that, under the provisions of the National Defense Act of 1920, there is now being built up a military force, active and reserve, of three million? How many parents realize the setting of the Military Training Camps within this monster system? How many teachers have considered whether such nationalism as this does not undermine the educational ideals that we profess? How many ministers of religion know whether or not their daily prayers for the coming of a Kingdom of God are being answered by the War Department?

At the end of the Great War, how many of us fervently echoed the sentiment of the President of the United States, "It must not be again!" Would that we had a national system of training camps with this as their motto! But no; the camps that we now have are perpetuating the old mentality that underlay the catastrophe of 1914-1918; the same mentality that has prevented any settlement that has the look of real peace. This old futile and fatal mentality is being dressed up and presented to young men and their parents under the names of duty, character, and patriotism. Into both the heads and the hands of those who camp with Uncle Sam are going the very tools with which to fight again whenever a fatuous "statesmanship" embroils us with our neighbors. This is the way, not of the Kingdom of God, but of the kingdoms of this world. This is not enlightened goodwill, studying out the route to its world-goal, and preparing youth for their journey thither; no, it is the blindness of yesterday leading the youth of today into the ditch.

Let There Be Light!

If the people once grasped the meaning of "citizenship-training" as it is practically employed in the Citizens Military Training Camp movement, the peril that is upon us would be averted. What is needed is not denunciation or contentiousness, but looking the facts—uncontested facts—squarely in the face. Why not send for documents, visit the camps, and interview officers and trainees in order to know for yourself whether the statements of fact contained in this article are correct? Why let your newspapers publish half-truths without being called to account by their readers? Perhaps it would be well to inquire into what is happening in your own high school. In your various clubs and other organizations might it not be well to study the camp movement instead of being merely passive listeners? And in your churches, your Sunday schools, your week-day schools of religion, and your young people's societies, would anything be more appropriate, more deeply religious, than seeing to it that parents and young people acquire adequate information upon which to base their decisions?

The Threat of the R. O. T. C.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

SINCE 1920, when the National Defense Act providing for the R. O. T. C. was amended, the growth of militarism in our colleges and high schools has been phenomenal. There are now 328 R. O. T. C. units operating in 225 institutions. Of these 118 are senior units operating in colleges and universities. There are 100 units in preparatory and high schools. A total of 120,874 students are enrolled. More than 60,000 students are subject to compulsory training. Of this number there are 7,000 high school boys who are forced to take three hours military drill each week. The Government spends some ten million dollars a year and employs 793 officers and 963 enlisted men for this purpose.

The compulsory feature of the training in many schools is probably the most sinister aspect of the whole program, but even where the training is not compulsory the subsidizing of schools and students by the Federal government tends to encourage such training even in opposition to the general sentiment of the local community or campus. Military training is compulsory in 83 colleges and universities, including practically all of the state universities. The general public is usually under the impression that Land Grant schools are forced by the Federal enactment to provide compulsory training. The fact is that the law requires only that military training be made available; and some schools, as the University of Wisconsin for instance, have successfully abolished compulsory training.

The War Department has developed this large establishment for the training of officers ostensibly for the purpose of providing officers for the next war. It never tires lamenting the dearth of officers at the beginning of American participation in the World War. Nevertheless it is a fact as Professor Cohen of New York City College has pointed out, that the products of college military training were forced to submit to the same training as other aspirants for army commissions. It may safely be assumed therefore that the military value of the training is negligible and that the War Department is so anxious about it because it consciously or unconsciously desires to create not military skill but a military mentality. It would be foolish to make the charge that collegiate military training makes men bloodthirsty and creates in them an active desire for war. It may be that an abnormal individual here and there hoping for a commission because of his training, would like to have a war begin, that he might enjoy the fleeting eminence of a

second lieutenantcy. That is, however, not the effect upon the average young man. The baneful psychological effect upon the average member of the R. O. T. C. is to incline him to the conviction that war is natural and inevitable. He thus becomes an important unit in that phantasmagoria of conflicting opinions out of which a dominant public opinion finally emerges, and he materially increases the chances that this opinion will accept war as inevitable.

In the R. O. T. C. Infantry Manual, used at the University of Nebraska, and presumably in other schools, we find this choice bit of philosophy, with which the youth of the colleges are being indoctrinated:

> "We live in a world governed by divine laws which we can neither alter nor evade. And in this world of ours force is the ultimate power. The mainsprings of human action are self-preservation and self-interest, in a word, selfishness—the 'touch of nature which makes the whole world kin.' And in this universal and unchangeable human trait we find at once the cause of war and the means of peace. So selfishness is not an unmitigated evil, otherwise it would not have been ordained. And indeed we may well ponder whether, if selfishness, ambition and competition were to be removed from the world, we should not fall into a most intolerable state of stagnation."

THE R. O. T. C. not only challenges the morality of civilization by its jungle-man ethics, but it thrusts a type of training and an attitude of mind into the college atmosphere which is thoroughly incompatible with the spirit of democracy and of science. The spirit of free cooperation, which is the basis of democracy, and the spirit of emancipated curiosity, which is the basis of science, are both alike imperiled by the military mind which makes unthinking obedience the *summum bonum* in the hierarchy of virtues.

The military mind makes much of the self-control which is supposed to issue from the habit of obedience. That is of course psychologically an absurdity. Self-control is encouraged only when responsibilities are thrown upon the individual. Acquiescence in any action or decision for which the individual has no responsibility destroys rather than encourages the forces which make for self-restraint. The insistence of the military educators that military training is valuable for both morals and citizenship is therefore unfounded. If self-control is the fruit of responsibilities assumed, democratic citizenship is the fruit of responsibilities shared. The military mind is thus inevitably an anachronism in a democratic state with which it is difficult enough to deal when inertia and tradition perpetuate it, and which becomes a positive threat when it is cultivated as a matter of policy.

Writing upon this subject one of America's greatest authorities in education, Professor William Heard Kilpatrick of Columbia says: "Military training in our schools and colleges, if it is to be defended at all, must, so far as I can see, be defended from considerations strictly of military preparation for war. Claims for moral training or for citizenship or for health training have little or no validity.—As for morals and citizenship, these, in order to be learned at all, have to be learned by practice, in situations much like those in which they have to be applied, and in much the same spirit and intent. The conditions of such practice the training ground supplies most inadequately and the drill ground practically not at all."

In passing it may be said that claims for health education advanced by defenders of military training have been negated by scores of physical training specialists. In his statement opposing compulsory military training in colleges President Coolidge has taken occasion to express his conviction on the negligible value of military training for purposes of physical development. Any incidental by-product of military training in the way of physical development of students could be more than balanced by any rational system of non-military physical training.

THE threat of the R. O. T. C. upon the democratic and scientific spirit of the American college is aggravated by the fact that a system of education is thrust into the curriculum of the local college for which the institution has no responsibility and in which it shares no control. Centralized authority is always dangerous and doubly so when it is wielded by military men. "Whenever military power starts to dictate to civil authorities," declared President Coolidge in his Omaha American Legion address, "by whatsoever means adopted, the liberties of the country are beginning to end." How little patience the military mind has with the spirit of freedom which ought to characterise a collegiate institution, and how ready it is to destroy the freedom of those who differ from its viewpoint, may be seen from the scores of cases, in which R. O. T. C. officers have embarrased college authorities who had the temerity to question the virtue of military training.

However patiently college authorities may submit to the present interference and domination of army men in their college work, the students, unmoved by considerations of expediency which seem to hamper their elders, are in active revolt against the whole system of military training. There is probably nothing more hopeful in our American life than this growing revolt of the student world against military training. At Ohio University, where 3,500 students are under military compulsion, the student paper has started agitation against compulsory drill. "Compulsory drill," declares this paper, "teaches men to allow other men to think for them. That is the basis of the system. That is not the basis of education." The referendum taken at this university showed that 1,330 men were opposed to all military training on the college curriculum and 465 were for it; 1,131 voted that they had received no benefit from the drill and 654 thought they had. At only a single school, where a referendum has been held, California Institute of Technology, has compulsory training gained a majority of student votes. At Cornell University 1,783 of a total number of 2,074 students signed a petition requesting the abolition of compulsory drill. At the universities of Nebraska, Indiana and Hawaii strong opposition has developed against compulsory training, and the students in other institutions are in more or less open rebellion against compulsion.

HOPEFUL as is this rebellion on the part of the students, it is obviously impossible for them to win the fight against militarism in the schools unaided, because in most of the state institutions some kind of legislative action will be required to abolish the compulsory feature of military drill. Fortunately the forces working for peace are more united on this issue than on most others. The Federal Coun-

cil of Churches passed resolutions in May, 1926, opposing military training in high schools and compulsory training in colleges. It authorized the publication of a pamphlet upon the subject and requested the churches to make a thorough study of the issue. The Northern Baptist Convention and the Presbyterian General Assembly voted to express their disapproval of compulsory military training in their 1926 convocations. Many local and district church groups, as for instance the Massachusetts Federation of Churches, The New York East Conference of the Methodist Church, the Massachusetts Congregational Conference, the Baptist Pastors Conference of Nebraska, the Federation of Womens Boards of Foreign Missions, and the Ohio Pastors Conference have taken similar action. The churches have been more unanimous in their opposition to military drill in high schools and to compulsory training in colleges than in any other stand taken on the various national and international issues involving the war question.

In spite of this rising tide of public opinion, expressed through the churches and other peace organizations, the battle against militarism in the schools is not won by any means. Some 60,000 students in high schools and colleges are still subject to military compulsion. The effort to free them by Federal action has failed so far. The Welsh bill presented to Congress in April, 1926, and designed to abolish compulsion in all but purely military schools has no immediate prospect of passing. Public opinion must express itself with greater vigor than heretofore before this end can be achieved. Meanwhile it is possible to work toward the final goal by action in states in which circumstances are propitious. The issue offers lovers of peace an opportunity to make a definite and immediate contribution to the pacification of the nations. The attitude of a citizen toward this issue is at the present the most telling criterion of the genuineness of his peace enthusiasm and the quality of his imagination. If we can not see the war system in militarized schools we are blind to the real issues which face a war-weary world.

The Altars of Freedom

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

"The interests of liberty are peculiarly those of individuals and hence of minorities and freedom is in danger of being slain on her own altars if the passion for unity and control of opinion gathers head."—CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, before the American Bar Association, August, 1925.

THE altars of free thought, inquiry and discussion should be cherished above all in institutions of learning. The public educational system of America ought to be the holy place of our democracy. And democracy cannot flourish unless it makes safe the right of controversy, a right which Bernard Shaw has well said is not "the right of stating in public that there are milestones on the Dover Road." One of the major controversial issues of the day is how to prepare against war or how to prevent it. No other question is of more importance to the oncoming generation of younger men and women. Yet this is the very question on which free discussion is being violently assailed just now in American schools. Usually the issue is raised over pacifism and forced military drill.

On the opposite page I have set down some evidence. Here are only a few of a large number of cases where repression of peace opinion and shutting off of discussion has been tried. Often one may not run across written evidence but the suppression may be just as effective if done orally and by intimation. This article makes no attempt to give a quantitative survey, its object is rather to sound a warning, to show that there are already notable cases where the fires of persecution for peace heretics have been kindled, to show further how easily this persecution may grow if we let our War Department mix into civilian education.

At North Dakota Agricultural College in April, 1924, two students named Leifson and Miller registered their disapproval of compulsory military training in letters to the college paper. This paper on May 9 printed comments by the Head of the School of Chemistry, the Head of the Mathematics Department, the Dean of the School of Mechanical Arts, the Registrar and others, favoring the R. O. T. C. On the other hand an instructor in Modern Languages, James A. Cuneo, and an instructor in Economics, Ross A. McRaynolds, wrote letters to the paper defending the right of the two students to criticise required drill. Mr. Cuneo raised two main questions, (1) "Is, or is it not possible for a student to express his own opinion on questions that pertain to him deeply, without being called an agitator, and without having his opinions labelled 'scourging attack'?" and (2) "Is, or is not military training in schools inconsistent with the aim of a democratic education?" His answers to both were temperate but clear. Among other things he said "The genius of the military business is hostile to the development of democratic ideals."

This letter immediately drew down on Mr. Cuneo the letter of President Coulter quoted on the opposite page. Rather than be shut off by presidential veto from expression of opinion on a college issue Mr. Cuneo resigned his position. In his letter to the trustees he enclosed the President's letter and his own as throwing light on his reason for leaving. He had two brothers, students in the college, who also felt affronted by President Coulter's letter and forced drill. They left the college and Mr. McRaynolds, the instructor of Economics, also found it expedient to resign. Thus criticism of military drill in an agricultural institution cost two faculty members their jobs and forced out two students in one term. As for the reason, President Coulter is naively frank. His letter says the Federal Government had provided no negligible funds for military instruction.

EXHIBIT OF INTERFERENCE WITH FREE SPEECH

PRESIDENT OF NORTH DAKOTA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE TO INSTRUCTOR WHO RESIGNED.

May 9, 1924

"I note your statement in the last number of *The Spectrum,* 'The genius of the military business is hostile to the development of democratic ideals.' I am reminded of a story of a fond mother who, observing a column of soldiers marching and noting her own awkward son out of line and out of step, remarked to a neighbor that the entire company was out of step with her son. It must not have occurred to her that her son was out of step with the whole company.

"In as much as the government of the United States has . . . provided funds to carry on military instruction at the North Dakota Agricultural College with the approval and supplementary support of the people of this state, and in as much as the Federal Government has given this institution more than 100,000 acres of land; they have given us an endowment fund of $1,500,000—which we have invested and which brings us about $80,000 a year and some other indications which would seem to speak the judgment of the people of this great democracy, it occurs to me that you are rather a young inexperienced newcomer in America to try to describe American ideals and the ideals of democracy. . . .

"I am writing this merely to bring to your attention the thought that while you may be and I hope are qualified to speak on some topics, your usefulness both to the state and to the people of this country would be materially greater if you restricted yourself to those subjects where you are qualified to speak."

REGENTS OF NEBRASKA UNIVERSITY TO RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

March 20, 1926

"The Board disapproves the attitude of certain religious and welfare workers assigned to the university who do not seem to realize the gross impropriety of accepting the good will and hospitality of the institution and conducting from offices, given them by the Regents, a campaign against the traditional policies of the institution and against the authority of the governing body. The Regents respectfully suggest that all churches and societies assigning religious and welfare workers to the institution select only those who will cooperate with the university authorities in maintaining the policies of the school."

PRESIDENT OF A LAND GRANT COLLEGE TO SECRETARY OF Y. M. C. A.

April 23, 1926

"Matters are so exceedingly serious growing out of A——'s visit to this institution that I am going to definitely and positively request that the Y. M. C. A. do not bring any more national speakers to this institution. I think A——— has done more harm to the Y. M. C. A. than any man you have brought here yet.

"At this institution and in this state we are fairly and decently loyal to the United States of America and I very strongly feel that in view of some editorials that have come out regarding A———'s work elsewhere that the getting of him here was an open breach sufficient to warrant severing the relationship of this institution and the Y. M. C. A. Hereafter I expect to pass upon speakers for the Y. M. C. A. at this institution with great care, and to refuse any more A———'s the privilege of coming here to talk."

MAY THE "Y" SEEK TRUTH AT PENN STATE?

"Our Y. M. C. A. had both sides of the case presented in our Forum, and offered to print letters on both sides in the Penn State Y. M. C. A. Alumni News-Letter. Shortly thereafter, I was called into the office of the college president, and requested not to mention the Dieffenbacher case again in speech or print. I appealed to our Board of Directors, who sustained the president in his request. I resigned as a protest against this infringement of free speech and press, and to sustain the principle of the right of the Young Men's Christian Association to seek Christian truth."—Frank I. Olmstead.

R. O. T. C. COMMANDANT CONTROLS SPEAKERS' COMMITTEE

"Commandant of the R. O. T. C. at the University of Wyoming is a fine Christian man, sincere and courteous, but very conservative and hopelessly set in his views. Because of his ability he has gained a dominant place in the faculty and is now chairman of the Speakers' Committee. *No one can get on the campus to speak without his O.K.* The President supports the captain very strongly, for he is a keen preparedness man."

ARMY AND NAVY JOURNAL ON ACTIVITY OF RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION.

"August 28, 1926:—Lt. Col. Fred B. Ryons, National Secretary of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, and a Nebraskan, says the 'Reserve Officer' became very much concerned over the possibility of military training in his state university being voted out. He wrote a letter to every reserve officer in the state and sent each one a copy of the Committee Hearings on the so-called 'compulsory military training bill.' With the help of the American Legion and many other citizens, the pacifists were defeated.

"It is understood that the same elements back of the Nebraska fiasco expect to launch a campaign in the Southern States in November and December. If any member learns of a coming visit of a 'liberal' speaker in a school or college where there is military training, advise National Headquarters."

Last March a committee of Nebraska citizens started a taxpayers' campaign to put the state university on an optional instead of a compulsory basis. Immediately they were violently attacked by the American Legion, one post in a public statement designating the ministers, lawyers, social workers, farmers and other citizens who formed this committee as "a certain body of notorious draft obstructionists and enemies of organized government who are devoting their efforts to this and other movements to destroy the national defense." There were also many false charges of financing by communists, etc. The Reserve Officers Association of the United States came into action with a similar barrage of misleading propaganda. The clipping from the *Army and Navy Journal* quoted on my exhibit page shows how the issue was represented as being pacifist total exclusion of drill from the university, whereas it was in reality only the *coercion of compulsory drill* on which the citizens' committee proposed a referendum. The Administration of Nebraska University lost not a day in joining in the hue and cry. Propaganda statements were issued from the Chancellor's office, members of the faculty were delegated to speak to citizens' groups, the R. O. T. C. commandant and the major in command of the Seventh Corps area began denunciations, and the University broadcasting station was used to attack the optional drill movement.

Accordingly in *The Omaha World-Herald* for March 21, one reads:

> "With a slap at Rev. Harry Huntington, Methodist student pastor at the university, the board of Regents this afternoon moved the university's heaviest artillery into action. . . . The slap at Rev. Huntington, who is chairman of the committee which is heading the fight against compulsory military training was contained in a strong hint that the Chancellor and the Regents were something otherwise than pleased that one within the university itself should be leading a movement to which they are opposed."

The "slap" spoken of is in the Exhibit. It shows the highest authorities of a great State University taking the position that a religious altar of freedom in their midst commits a "gross impropriety" when it speaks out against the military conscription of American students in time of peace. Furthermore, the Regents do not confine their slapping to the Rev. Mr. Huntington. "All churches and societies assigning religious and welfare workers to the institution" are warned that only those workers are wanted "who will cooperate with the university authorities in maintaining the policies of the school." That is a smooth way of saying to religion: Send us no prophets who will speak primarily for God, send only those who are warranted to keep step with our administration.

Unfortunately this attitude is not limited to the authorities at Nebraska. In a number of other places Y. M. C. A. secretaries and college ministers have found themselves faced with a censorship which attempts to shut off discussion of the R. O. T. C. and of war in the light of the Christian gospel. It has been forbidden to bring to meetings outside speakers who were known to have Christian-pacifist views or even those who, being much less radical, were only opposed to the compulsory feature of militiary education.

Examples are shown on the Exhibit page. In the letter from "President of a Land Grant College" I have substituted fictitious initials for real names. I have the complete letter with names, but I do not want to be responsible, if I can help it, for getting the "Y" secretary into further trouble. I have talked with several other secretaries each one of whom encountered in his college strong official objection to discussions on peace in his Y. M. C. A. There are more cases which I have not investigated, but in behalf of the principle for which these secretaries are contending, the letter which I quote, of Frank Olmstead, "Y" Secretary at Colorado School of Mines and formerly secretary of Pennsylvania State College, speaks for all. A United States army colonel who was with Olmstead in Russia writes: "He is the bravest and most unselfish man I have ever known—a real patriot. Yet Pennsylvania State College allowed him to resign rather than permit him to continue free speech in his forum. Robert Dieffenbacher, referred to in Olmstead's letter, was a student who had left the college rather than be forced to drill.

OTHER altars of freedom over which college administrations and military officers keep watchful eye are the student publications, debating groups, liberal clubs, etc. At Boston University a year ago Miss Henrietta Perkins was removed from her editorship of *The Bean Pot* because she brought out an issue poking fun at the R. O. T. C. At the College of the City of New York President Mezes last November ordered the editor of *The Campus* to refrain from mention of military science. At Michigan Agricultural College I am told two editors were threatened with expulsion if they should continue to oppose compulsory military training.

But lest I weary the reader with a catalog of "cases" let me push on to a fundamental question: Who else besides college presidents and deans is responsible for the censoring of speakers and publications? We have seen at Nebraska that the American Legion, the Reserve Officers Association of the United States and the Regular Army officers assigned to R. O. T. C. work in that area, all put forth effort to steam roller civilian opinion. To them could be added Military Intelligence Officers, Civilian Aides to the Secretary of War, defense societies like the National Security League, "Patriotic" women's groups and others. These organizations carry on a nation-wide military propaganda including the attempt almost always to suppress the views or discredit the reputations of citizens who oppose their policies.

Probably the best watch dogs of peace discussion on college campuses are the local R. O. T. C. commanders. The Commandant at The University of Wyoming furnishes a perfect example. He is described in a letter which I have from a reliable source which I have quoted in the Exhibit. Besides his control over the Speakers Committee he is part owner of the town paper.

A fellow member of the University of Wyoming faculty joined a committee in the town for study of problems indicated by its title—"Law—not War." The committee carefully avoided pacifism and asked the R. O. T. C. commandant to become a member. Several weeks later a detective was put on the trail of the faculty professor to get evidence of his lack of patriotism.

THE surveillance of faculty members, students and Y secretaries by local R. O. T. C. officers could be illustrated by many examples, but each local case is seen only in its true importance when it is understood that it is part of a general policy of attack on peace opinion which is backed by very high army authorities and apparently encouraged, and most certainly not checked, by the U. S. Department of War. The Assistant Secretary of War, Col. Hanford McNider, has repeatedly in public addresses criticized by name Miss Jane Addams and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt for association with "professional pacifists." These latter, he says, are "more often than not on the receiving end of some organization," i.e., they are financial exploiters. And following his lead, generals of highest place on the army staff make similar or worse charges.

Now, although I consider such attacks a misuse of official position, I am in favor of free speech for generals. It lets us know the quality of their minds and exactly where they stand. But there is, for all that, a danger in the attempt which their loose denunciations cover, to hurt the influence of, and cut off opportunities of free speech from, those civilian opponents whose heads they would beat down. A letter before me from an ex-major speaks of the activity of the "civilian aids to the Secretary of War." Writing of the aid in the Eighth Corps area, he says: "I have received copies of a bunch of stuff that he sends out to various people in the area. He goes into detail of a number of men who are active in the peace movement on the country and labels them all as I. W. W. or as directly connected with Moscow or something similar. I am sure that when the presidents of the colleges read what he has to say about a number of the men they will not want to allow the men to appear at their schools." On the list of undesirable people given by the civilian aid are Bishop Benjamin Brewster, Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, Professor John Dewey, Mr. George Foster Peabody and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

A more flagrant attempt to silence criticism occurred recently in the Seventh Corps area. Here the military authorities organized a committee which is urging upon the Kansas State Board of Regents regulations *withholding salary from any Kansas teacher who speaks out against the R. O. T. C.*

President Coolidge has said, "Any organization of men in the military service bent on inflaming the public mind for the purpose of forcing government action through the pressure of public opinion is an exceedingly dangerous undertaking and precedent." It is doubly dangerous when it goes into our schools and colleges and is backed by the prestige and power of men in the national uniform using the nation's money. In a single year $222,533.03 of Federal funds were poured into military training in the *high schools alone of one city.** War hysteria and armament appropriations have opened wide the doors of the Treasury to our military men. Military bureaucracy allied with millions of tax money is one of the most dangerous combinations the world has ever seen. Are we willing to let it throttle freedom and adventurous thinking in our universities and schools?

Arms and the Oriental Student

CHARLES D. HURREY

THE opinions of foreign people are of the most vital concern to us; this is particularly true concerning the students, who, in many lands, are a dominant factor in determining national and international policies. Let us see, therefore, what ten thousand students from abroad, now enrolled in American universities are thinking and saying about us. For the purposes of this article we are concerned with their answers to the following questions:—

1. Is militarism increasing in the United States?
2. What is the attitude of Oriental students in the United States toward military training in American colleges?
3. Does the impression prevail in your country that America is becoming increasingly militaristic?
4. Does growth of militarism in America effect the attitude of your people towards Americans and their enterprises and institutions? How?
5. Do you think that the United States can champion the cause of world peace?

The students from whom written answers to our inquiry have been obtained, are representative Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Koreans and Filipinos, selected because of their maturity, their extended residence in the United States, varying from two to eight years, and not because of their known attitude toward military matters.

To the first, third and fifth questions thirty-eight answer decidedly in the affiirmative; two in each case in the negative. To question number four, thirty-six answer yes, and four, no. These answers have been formulated oftentimes in discussion groups and, therefore, represent the views of several hundred foreign students including some from Latin America, Europe and the Near East.

The second question dealing with military training in American colleges brings forth some interesting comments. It is evident that the majority of foreign students are glad to be exempt from compulsory military training, required of Americans in certain colleges, although this exemption is interpreted in some instances as an act of racial discrimination. An attitude of disinterest and indifference prevails among many Oriental students, while they ridicule any of their fellow nationals, taking military training, as "electing a snap course," seeking to qualify as officers back home and entering the avenue to social position. Not a few are influenced to take the course for economic reasons, receiving uniforms, etc., and because it cultivates discipline and satisfies the love of masculine beauty. A majority disapproves military training on the ground that it encourages belief in violence and discourages efforts to find better means of settling international disputes; they say that it tends to

*Statement of Superintendent McAndrews, of Chicago schools, to Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead.

jingoism and the abandonment of cultural education; others declare that it creates military sentiment among students and misunderstanding about "Christian America." At least one Hindu and a Chinese declare that it is the only means of preparing to suppress the misgovernment of military governors in China.

AMONG the reasons given for their belief that militarism is on the increase in the United States we quote the following: "Post-war activity in manufacturing airplanes and dirigibles, tanks, battleships and submarines; the use of radio, improvement of artillery, increased appropriations for defense, in comparison to expenditures for public health and education, expansion of R.O.T.C. and Citizens Military Training Camps, establishing a National Defense Day and conducting the naval maneuvers in the Pacific." Mention is made of the annexation of Hawaii and the occupation of the Philippines and also the adoption of the Oriental Exclusion bill as evidence of a militaristic trend in American life. With the growth of wealth and power in the United States there is a sense of pride and a desire for economic expansion, accompanied by imperialism and militaristic tendencies.

Seventeen prominent Chinese students remind us that the American Legion devotes much time and money to arousing military spirit, and the United States government advertises everywhere to induce young men to enlist in the Army and Navy. Several students allude to the general popularity of military affairs among the American people and cite the growth of Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations as evidence. Our failure to participate in the League of Nations and also our intolerance of peace movements are mentioned as signs of the growth of militarism. Filipino students call attention to the tendency of the present administration to send military men as governor generals and to arbitrate such disputes as the Tacna-Arica controversy.

REGARDING impressions in the Far East concerning the growth of militarism in America (Question 4) some students state quite frankly that the great mass of their people give no thought to such matters and are not disturbed by them. Notable exceptions are indicated, however, as in the Philippine agitation for independence, the manifestation accompanying the passing of the Japanese Immigration Act, and the anti-foreign uprising in China and India; the whole people is stirred by these events and becomes suspicious of the military designs of Western powers. The Filipino sees a death blow to his aspirations for independence in America's policy of developing a strong naval base in the Islands and in expanding military training in the Philippine schools; therefore he is inclined to oppose any enterprise of the Americans—be it commercial, educational or philanthropic.

The defense of missionary and trade interests in China by United States gun boats creates the impression that America is just as militaristic as any other country and it makes the Chinese people resentful toward Americans and inclined to become as militaristic, if not more so, in order to save their country from aggression; this is practically the unanimous testimony of twenty-five hundred Chinese students in this country. Thus also writes a Filipino student: "While your religious and educational institution are teaching peace and good will many of your leading newspapers and some of your governmental acts are unfai to us, destroying our faith in you and your teachings." "The Cross and the sword shouldn't go together; if Chris tianity doesn't work in a country from which it goes t Japan, what chance has it to work in Japan?" inquires student from the Sunrise Kingdom. Students in the Orien are less inclined to attend mission schools, accept Bible train ing or foreign hospital service, since the United States nava demonstration and Defense Day celebration of last year. I the following terms an Indian student reflects the impres sions prevailing among his people: "From what one ob serves in 'Christian' America the Christian teaching must b 'Hate thine enemy,' if a man smite thee on they right cheel smite him on the right and left also; thou shalt not kill i ones and twos, but in millions; blessed are the war makers blessed are the haughty for they shall inherit the earth."

"Responding to the ideals set forth by Americans, Japa is now getting rid of the old militaristic sentiment; it is great disillusionment to see America rising with a new mili taristic display," writes a Japanese student. Quoting anothe Indian student we are told: "The Oriental will be forced t change his traditional attitude toward America and to regar her as one of the clique of Occidental imperialistic nations interested in carrying the 'white man's burden.' "

ASKED whether the United States may well champio the cause of world peace, most of the students believ we may, but they honestly fear that some of our recen actions have vitiated any good intentions we may have ha in that direction. They recall that America was a sponso of the League of Nations—and of disarmament; they ar conscious of our economic strength and influence and the see us in an entirely different and more favorable situatio than any European country. Several students declare tha the United States is less "suspect" than any other Occidenta nation; it is believed that the American people want peace "but the moneyed interests constitute an invisible govern ment, demanding preparedness to protect foreign invest ments, and to open and maintain new markets for raw ma terials and manufactured products."

From all of these testimonies as well as from conver sations with hundreds of representative Orientals here an throughout the Far East, I am forced to the following un pleasant conclusions:

1. The Orient believes that America is greatly expandin her military and naval program, not because of any imme diate danger of invasion or attack, but to enforce the will o the West upon the East.

2. Influenced by the attitude and example of Uncle Sam the Far East is embarking on a great venture in miltaristi development. According to information supplied by th Military Intelligence Division of the War Department i Washington, it is estimated that there are nearly 2,500,00 Japanese youths between the ages of sixteen and twenty subject to military training at one time. Under the Uni versal Military Training Act, which went into effect i April, 1925, systematic compulsory training has been starte in all schools above the sixth grade. It is estimated tha

there are today approximately 475,000 young Japanese students taking military training; in addition the Young Men's Training Act will provide for the training of two million more, so that before long the two laws will put 2,500,000 Japanese youths under pre-conscription training. In the words of the U. S. War Department information, "there is no doubt that the example of the Reserve Officers Training Corps in the United States, to some extent, influenced the Japanese War Department."

We are quite familiar with the creation and maintenance of armies on a vast scale in China, and the steady increase of military training in the Philippines, while 320 millions in India reluctantly ponder whether non-resistance as exhibited by Mahatma Gandhi is a failure and whether the only language which the West can understand is force.

3. Faith and confidence in the people of America, as possessing high moral and spiritual ideals, are being shaken throughout the Orient, and widespread suspicion and open hostility are taking their place.

4. The Oriental discovers that the Christianity practiced in the West is not the religion of Jesus, and he is in confusion and conflict; will he literally follow Jesus or will he fall in line with the policies of Western "Christian" nations, which are so largely a betrayal of the Oriental Christ?

5. America is in danger of refusing to accept the great opportunity for leadership among the nations in gradual disarmament, in adopting just measures of immigration legislation and in demonstrating our faith in the religion which many of our missionaries have been proclaiming to the Orient.

6. Ten thousand ambassadors in the United States as students from one hundred nations, are being exposed to America's hypocrisy, selfishness and materialism. There is real danger that in spite of our effort to reveal our best, they will turn their people against us and shatter our hopes of international cooperation.

European Militarism Before the War

Can We Discover Any "Deadly Parallels"?

L. QUIDDE

IN order to characterize European militarism of pre-war days I shall confine myself largely to such observations as we in Germany have been able to make. For Prussian militarism was really militarism of the purest water; and furthermore, it would lead too far to detail similar conditions in other countries.

Most emphatically I must oppose the war propaganda, perhaps still surviving in America, that there was only a Prussian or a German militarism. No, there was a European militarism, more or less strongly developed in the several countries. Even Switzerland with its militia system, and England with its abhorrence of "general conscription," were not free from it. Let us observe some of its workings in the fateful days before the War.

In the army and navy it was the characteristic feature of militarism to overemphasize the idea of discipline to such a degree that there remained nothing of human dignity in the rank and file. The soldier was not permitted to resent the most unjustified censures, not to speak of resistance against maltreatment. The right to lodge complaint after the event was a double-edged sword. If he made use of it, he exposed himself to the spitefulness of powerful superiors, and if the complaint was found to be unjustified, he risked punishment. The omnipotence of superiors and the helplessness of the common soldier led to maltreatment, concerning which there were constant complaints. The military courts, fixing sentences of solitary confinement for the least misstep, were barbarous and worked with revolting favoritism. The whole was in reality education to destroy the sense of honor, despite the brag and the sensitiveness of military honor.

In the army of universal service these conditions were perhaps worse than in mercenary troops, although whipping persisted in the English army and navy even after the abolition of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and long after its passing in the German army. The poor devil who was forced into the army through universal military service was as good as helpless against a brutal superior. To treat a mercenary soldier in the same way was hardly possible, because it was necessary constantly to recruit new contingents. The German army, it is true, has the unenviable reputation of leading in the doctrine of silent and unquestioning obedience, but other armies have other sins to their account. The French Foreign Legion, which supplied cannon fodder for French colonial wars, despite all that French peace workers say in its excuse, is a disgrace of French militarism. Similarly, the forcible recruiting of native populations and the use of native African troops in the World War on the European battlefields.

So much for militarism in the army itself. Now as to its influence on the intellectual, social and political life of the nation.

THE chief means of carrying militaristic ideas to the people and of persuading wide circles to be governed by militaristic standards, was not primarily service in the army or navy, but the continuation of the *sense of belonging,* long after the period of actual service. The youth of the educated and wealthy classes became reserve officers. Since this im-

plied great social advantages, it was considered an asset of high value. The result was that they adapted themselves generally in their outlook on life and in their behavior, to the views of the officers in service.

While the educated and wealthy were controlled by the system of reserve officers, the small burghers were kept in line through the annual control meetings, and above all, through the soldiers' clubs (*Kriegervereine*). These organizations were obviously for the purpose of good-fellowship, but in reality they served the army cult and tried to educate their members to the view that even in civil and political life faithfulness to the "Supreme War Lord" restricted the freedom of the former soldier.

A question which is of supreme importance today in America, the military training of the youth in the schools and universities, played no role then. This previous training was unnecessary, because every healthy young man had to serve in the army, and the time of service there was sufficiently long to school him thoroughly. Only in Switzerland, whose militia was purely defensive, could something similar be found. But the War, which was "to free the world of Prussian militarism," brought about this extension of military training so dangerous for the development of a militaristic mentality, in France as part of the official educational program, and elsewhere, through private organizations.

That the militarization of the mind should be even more noticeable in the administration of the state than in ordinary civil life, is self-evident. The academically schooled young official was in most cases a reserve officer. If by any chance he was not—because he had not been in the service—he sought to make up for this lack by stepping up as a plain-clothes lieutenant. Many officials of the higher and middle grades carried their corporal and lieutenant minds into their office. This was noticeable in their dealings with the public and in their attitude toward the problems of administration which had arisen through the desire of the lower classes for political and economic equality. Subordination was the ideal, just as it was in the army.

In the educational system militarism was self-evidently important. But it was not the only guilty factor. Narrowness of national outlook and disregard for other nationalities were developed independently of militarism. The school texts in all countries, especially the history texts, were competing in one-sided, nationalistic presentations, in placing war stories before culture history, in glorifying warlike deeds of national military heroes. Most countries had little to complain of against others; they were all sinners. Naturally enough militarism strongly opposed the demands of school reformers and pacifists that the school books and the entire educational system be purged of all elements that made for international hatreds. Such a one-sided nationalistic and militaristic education made the understanding of a policy of international conciliation and the attempt to outlaw war very difficult.

But it would be wrong to say that the leading representatives of militarism worked for the precipitation of war. This was not the case, at least not in Germany. In some other countries militarism was, possibly, more war-eager. Of course, when a political crisis arose, the military powers everywhere were prone to declare that a decision by arms was inevitable. But in this they were no worse than the majority of the public, educated by military standards. The masses, who generally desire nothing more than to pursue their peaceful labors, were in all countries only too readily made enthusiastic for war. In this latent disposition, produced and fostered largely by militarism, lay the greatest danger for conflict. Nevertheless, militaristic Germany kept the peace for forty-three years.

ARMAMENTS were, of course, constantly growing. Every increase in one country inevitably brought greater demands in another country. Every country was arming only for defense, but the increase of armaments seemed to its neighbor a definite threat. The resistance which the people's representatives generally opposed to exaggerated demands of the Government, failed in most cases against the cry for armaments. Militarism, itself claiming exceptional status, saw to that. In extreme cases a war panic was engendered and an appeal was made to patriotism. A leading rôle was played in all Great Powers which had risen to eminence through military prowess, by the munitions and arms industries with their subsidized press. They did not really drive for war. Normal and steady business was preferable to a phenomenal rise behind which lurked disaster and catastrophe. But they always painted the war devil on the wall, and exaggerated existing troubles into serious crises, in order to receive new and enormous orders.

From a compilation in Fried's *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung* it is evident that the expenditures for armaments of the six Great Powers of Europe in the thirty years from 1880 to 1909 rose from 640 million dollars to about 1,360 million; that is, they more than doubled. In these figures only the actual budgets for army and navy were counted, not expenditures found in other items of the Budget, especially not pensions and interest for armament debts. These would increase the given figures by at least half. Up to the time immediately prior to the War these expenditures for armaments increased further to about 1,550 million dollars. The peace armies of the five Great Powers of the continent in 1875, after the reorganization of the French army, counted almost two million; in the year 1912, almost three million (in which figure Russia's total is only estimated, since official figures do not exist).

As mistaken as it is to think that disarmament automatically means the certainty of peace, equally true it is also that in the competitive arming of European militarism lay the grave danger of war. That has never been declared more emphatically and more convincingly than in the famous Manifesto of the Czar of August 28, 1898. This Manifesto led to the Hague Conferences and their important achievements. But European militarism would not permit a thorough house-cleaning.

The result was the World War. Out of the World War has come a new and dangerous militarism, a militarism of the mind in all nations participating in the war, a militarism of armaments in the European states that emerged victorious. But at the same time there has arisen a strong counter movement, which demands peace and disarmament. And this, happily, is far stronger than before the War.

The Menace of Military Preparedness

KIRBY PAGE

THE chief danger of military preparedness is not that it tends to brutalize men and make them aggressive and blood-thirsty. The supreme menace is found in a combination of two facts: first, efficient preparation for war cannot be carried on in modern democracies unless a certain type of public opinion is created; and second, it is precisely this type of public opinion which leads to hostilities between nations. In other words, military preparedness is a primary cause of war. Let us consider the evidence.

1. *Military preparedness creates suspicion, fear and hatred of other peoples.* Preparedness for modern war is so expensive and places so heavy a financial burden upon taxpayers that they will not support such a policy unless they are afraid of the consequences of being unprepared. If military and naval budgets are to mount upward, fears and suspicions must be increased. If a solid foundation of fear and suspicion is not laid the superstructure of military preparedness will collapse. In the nature of the case, therefore, advocates of preparedness play upon the fears of voters in their efforts to secure appropriations. One has only to read their literature and listen to their speeches to realize how frequent and powerful are the appeals to fear. Any act on the part of Japan, for example, that can be construed as aggressive is heralded in glaring headlines across the United States and is harped upon in innumerable public addresses. Out of the countless articles that might be cited, we quote from one of a sensational series of full-page articles in the Hearst press, as follows:

> "In the accompanying article General Mitchell discloses the tentative plans of the Japanese General Staff for the aerial bombing of San Francisco and Los Angeles as the initial blow following a sudden declaration of war against the United States. Later General Mitchell will present further secret moves mapped out by Japan for the seizure of Alaska, Hawaii and the Philippines."

Japanese militarists in turn eagerly avail themselves of any opportunity to emphasize policies of the United States that they regard as a menace to their country, for they likewise, and this should never be forgotten, must make their people afraid if they are to secure large military and naval appropriations.

The full fruits of the appeal to fear are visible in Europe. For many decades prior to 1914 each of the great powers secured support for preparedness on the ground that the fatherland was menaced by the aggressive designs of powerful neighbors. As armaments increased, fears mounted and led to still further increases in armaments. Fear causes suspicion and hatred, prevents sane decisions and leads to irrational conduct. It was fear more than any other single factor that produced the World War. And fear of one country by another constitutes the greatest international danger of the present hour. The war system of dealing with disputes between nations is manifestly so ineffective and destructive that it could not be maintained for another month were it not for the fears of peoples. Military preparedness cannot be carried on effectively without the creation of fear and suspicion. Therefore, preparation for war tends to produce the very type of public opinion which leads to hostilities between nations.

2. *Military preparedness tends to accentuate the menace of irresponsible nationalism.* It is a significant fact that practically all extreme nationalists are ardent advocates of military preparedness and that the latter are usually strong nationalists. It is no accident that the newspaper which carries at the top of its editorial page the celebrated slogan, "My country, in her intercourse with other nations, may she always be right, but right or wrong, my country," is resolutely committed to armed preparedness. War is such a beastly and loathsome affair that men will not engage in it unless they are driven by powerful emotions. One of these emotions is fear, another is love of country. In spite of the fact that love of country is one of the noblest of all sentiments, when expressed in an unreasoning and impassioned way, it becomes one of the greatest menaces now confronting the human race. One of the most dangerous phases of this question is found in the prevalence of a false sense of national honor. We are still in the duelling stage of national honor, when "insults" to our flag must be punished with human slaughter. "My belief is," says a Lieutenant Colonel quoted in *The Christian Century*, "that when war is once made, divinity and national necessity merge into one . . . and that at such a time God speaks only in one message, 'As you serve your country, so you serve me.'"

When one studies the influence of nationalism and patriotism upon human behavior, one cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that on grounds of love of country men and women have frequently yielded to the basest passions and performed the foulest deeds, ranging from expressions of bitter contempt and hymns of hate to disembowelling men with bayonets and starving women and children with an iron blockade. On behalf of country men often follow a course of action which no upright and self-respecting man would ever dream of doing on his own behalf. To admit this is not to denounce patriotism but to call attention to the dangers of its excesses. Unrestrained and uncontrolled nationalism constitutes one of the greatest perils of our time.

As long as the idea is widely held that a nation is the supreme political entity, that it has the sovereign right to determine its own policies regardless of the desires or interests of other peoples, that insults to national honor must be punished with violence, that it is the duty of the citizen to support his own government in all conflicts with other governments, even to the extent of slaughtering other peoples, the peace of the world will be threatened by jingos in various countries. Nothing is easier than to arouse the mass emotions of a people in time of crisis; nothing is more difficult than to keep patriotic sentiments under control at such an hour. To make peoples afraid of each other and to arouse their respective passions is sheer madness and if continued

can only lead to destruction and chaos. To the extent, therefore, that advocates of military preparedness arouse the passions of our citizens against other countries and to the degree that they succeed in instilling a willingness to use any kind of weapon in supporting our government in its disputes with other governments, they accentuate the menace of irresponsible nationalism.

3. *Military preparedness increases confidence in the efficacy of physical force and violence, and decreases confidence in non-military means of maintaining security and justice.* Needless to say, it would be folly to pursue a policy of armed preparedness unless a reasonable degree of security can thereby be achieved. Therefore, the spokesmen for such a policy are constantly assuring the public that if other nations know that we are strongly prepared they will not dare attack us. And so we are told that the best way to preserve the peace is to be so heavily armed that other nations will be afraid to molest us. "No one," says General Mitchell, "dares slap the face of a champion prize-fighter in the pink of condition. No one will dare insult this nation or take its possessions if it is known that we can defeat any enemy approaching us. There lies the path of safety—and peace!"

Moreover, if we are well prepared, so runs the argument, no nation will dare to interfere with our "domestic" affairs, such as immigration laws, tariffs, etc. If we have a preponderance of armaments, so we are told, we can afford to ignore the desires and interests of other nations. Can there be any doubt, for example, that at least a partial explanation of the rashness and carelessness involved in the *manner in which* Japanese immigrants were excluded from the United States is found in the belief of most Congressmen that Japan would not dare to attack us? If we did not place such great reliance in armaments, we would undoubtedly be more considerate of the feelings of other peoples and would be more conciliatory in our actions. Dependence upon armed preparedness creates a false sense of security and leads to recklessness in the determination of national policies.

Some advocates of preparedness are enthusiastic supporters of international agencies of justice, but there is considerable evidence to indicate that the net result of all propaganda on behalf of preparedness is to cause widespread cynicism concerning the efficacy of non-violent means of achieving international security and justice. It would be easy to gather together a large number of quotations similar to the one from Read Admiral Fiske that "the plain fact is that international law is largely international humbug"; and from Rear Admiral Rodgers that "popular suggestion for securing peace by means of treaties, international conferences and world courts and other diplomatic and economic agreements . . . is a vain hope. We all know that great collective emotions are only restrained by force."

As a result of the widespread confidence in the efficacy of armaments and even more widespread cynicism concerning peaceful means of settling international disputes, in every serious crisis there is a clamorous demand for war if the opposing nation does not yield to our demands. In other words, there is an expectation of the warlike settlement of serious disputes. It was this demand and this expectation in 1898 that drove McKinley to ask for war against Spain. The hope of peace lies in our ability to build effective international agencies of justice and in the creation of an expectation that these agencies will prove adequate in time of crisis, that is to say, the building up of a psychology of peaceable settlement of even the most serious international disputes. The net result of propaganda for preparedness, in the opinion of the writer, is to do just the opposite, to create a psychology of warlike settlement.

4. *Military preparedness leads to colossal waste of money and man-power.* The expenditure of more than 500 million dollars annually upon the current expenses of the army and navy of the United States is usually justified as insurance payments against aggression and injustice. To hold this opinion any longer is to ignore the clear lesson of history. The forty billion dollars spent upon armaments by the nations of Europe during the four decades prior to 1914 did not give any one of them security but rather made the World War inevitable. In the opinion of the writer there is not the slightest probability that the shores of the United States will be invaded by deliberate aggression of another power. The danger is found in the possibility of hostilities as a result of disputes concerning our investments or loans abroad or over the question of the protection of the lives and property of our citizens in other lands. When it is recalled that we now have a stake of some 22 billion dollars in loans and investments in practically every country in the world and that our citizens are to be found everywhere, the impossibility of achieving security and justice by force of arms becomes apparent. The five billion dollars a decade that we are now spending upon the current expenses of our army and navy do not give adequate insurance against aggression and much of this amount is sheer social waste. The colossal waste in man-power is also significant. What if the more than 20,000 officers, not to mention enlisted men, in the army, navy and marines who are using their time, energy and lives in preparing for war, were turned into constructive channels of international education and conciliation? Would not a much greater degree of security be achieved if the stupendous sums of money and the man-power now being devoted to military and naval preparedness were diverted into the task of creating the machinery and psychology of peaceable settlement of international disputes?*

In conclusion, we would point out that the final test of the value of military preparedness is not found in the good effects of military training, such as physical development, discipline of character, and the creation of civic loyalty, all of which can surely be obtained apart from military training, but in the answers given to two questions; namely, is the war system an effective means of maintaining international security and justice? And second, is military preparedness a successful method of preventing war?

The answer to the first question is clear and incontrovertible. If no better means can be found of settling controversies between nations than by war, prospects for human progress are indeed dismal. The increasing destructiveness of the weapons of war, the increasing size of the units involved, and the increasing interdependence of peoples, combine to make the continued use of the war method nothing short of suicidal for humanity.

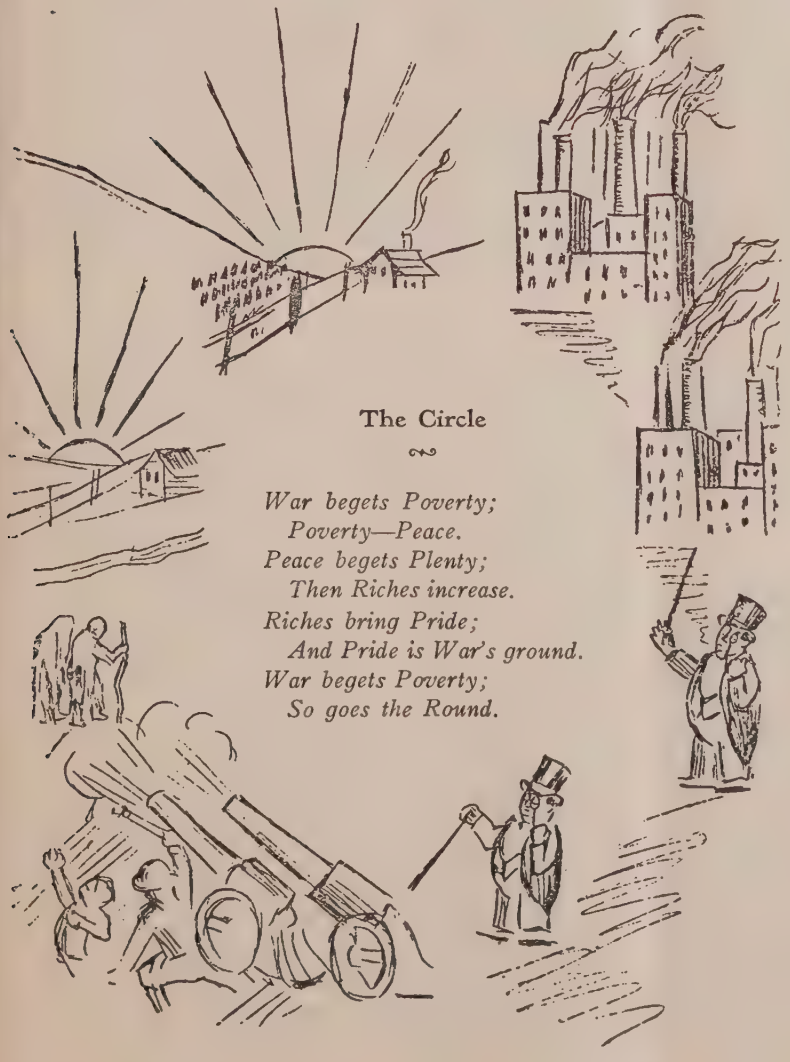
Does military preparedness prevent war? The answer of

* In his pamphlet, A National Peace Department, the writer has dealt with this question at length.

history is in the negative. The net evidence, in the opinion of the writer, is that preparedness, instead of preventing war, is a primary factor in the creation of that type of public opinion in the various countries which makes war inevitable. What are the origins of war? Greed, aggressive ambitions, and desire for restitution or revenge, are admitted causes. But equally important, if not more so, are suspicion, fear, hatred, irresponsible nationalism, a false sense of national honor, unreasoning patriotism, trust in the efficacy of force and violence and distrust of peaceable processes, and the creation of a psychology of warlike settlement. Since an abundance of evidence makes it clear that the campaign for military preparedness in the various countries actually results in the creation of exceedingly dangerous social attitudes and governmental practices, are we not justified in speaking of the menace of military preparedness?

Oncomers

A Page for Future World Citizens



The Circle

War begets Poverty;
Poverty—Peace.
Peace begets Plenty;
Then Riches increase.
Riches bring Pride;
And Pride is War's ground.
War begets Poverty;
So goes the Round.

SIMPLY as a beginning of what we hope will develop into a distinctive department, we print this month an original drawing by Irving Fromer, 13, and some lines by Anna Abramsky, 16, both of whom have been active in the work of the Pioneer Youth of America, 3 West 16th Street, New York, by whose courtesy we are allowed to make the reproductions.

We shall welcome contributions by young and old for this department. Material that is written by grown-ups as sheer propaganda for children cannot be accepted; but, subject to the space limitations of one page (of about 1000 words) we shall be glad to purchase acceptable verse, stories, playlets, pictures, in short anything which children will like and which will help them to project their vision into the life of all classes in every corner of the earth. But the children's own productions will have best chance!

A Window on the Street

The Sacco-Vanzetti Revelations

It will require weeks, so says Judge Webster Thayer, to weigh the evidence placed before him by the attorneys for the radical labor leaders in urging a new trial. It will require far less, however, for any fair-minded person, wherever his sympathies may lie, to own a sense of shame at the manner in which the United States Department of Justice, under the aegis of A. Mitchell Palmer, is shown to have moved in this particular sector of the hysterical fight on "Reds." "It was the opinion," one of the Department's former operatives swore, "of the Department of Justice agents here (in Boston) that a conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti for murder would be one way of disposing of them." Two former operatives asserted under oath that men were planted everywhere about the radicals: an attempt was made to place an agent in Mrs. Sacco's home; another was put in a cell with Sacco to draw out a "confession"; others served on Sacco-Vanzetti defense committees, one even as a collector. No wonder Attorney-General Sargent refuses to open the files of the Boston branch of the Department for the inspection of both sides in the case! The undersigned, who had a little experience with the self-same Department a few years ago, asked an official in the Bureau of Investigation, late in 1918, if he was glad the War had come to an end. "Well, yes;" said he, "but another war is just beginning."

Winter and the British Miners

No matter how righteous your cause, your heart will falter at the sight of children starving for your principles. Here is the whole story of the British miners' strike. Contributions, solicited from trade unionists all over the world and urged by conservative churchmen and others of international repute, have helped the hungry miners through the summer. Thrown back chiefly upon themselves by the collapse of the general strike, they have capitulated on most of their demands to the pressure of the owners. The latter, playing true to form, have not been satisfied with this, and now insist on separate local agreements—a form of settlement deliberately calculated to break the backbone of the union and vitiate subsequent attempts at nationalization. Coal from the United States is going forward to England and to usual British markets at the rate of 800,000 tons a week. But the owners' children, come what may, will scarcely want for life's necessities; and the employers are clearly in high glee. "Notice: We Are Now Booking Orders for Delivery After the Strike"—this is the significant sign posted on more and more of the retail dealers' windows. "If silk-hatted Londoners shivering along Piccadilly are beginning now to feel the coal strike as an intimate fact," declares a cablegram to the New York *Sun*, "it is easy to realize how the miners, squatting in their hovels in South Wales, or in their shacks in Northumberland and in their neat little cottages in the Midlands of England, must regard the situation. . . . It is the English winter that will beat them." Was there ever a worse case of selfishness gone mad? The owners have refused to meet for a new tri-parte conference on a settlement; the Government will do nothing alone, because real justice would involve it in a program of basic economic change. Of such ingredients are compounded the violent upheavals which rend mankind apart and make the race's progress tedious.

Investigate the U. S. A.

Just why, one is impelled to ask, were the Philippines "investigated"? Press reports from Carmi Thompson's tour of the domain presided over by his good friend Leonard Wood have been exhaustive in detail; but they have revealed nothing that could not have been ascertained before by any easy-chair traveler willing to do a little reading. It is not the Philippines which need investigating, but the United States of America in these prosperous and expansive days. Are we to throw aside our promises like other famous scraps of paper? Are we committed to a policy that denies self-government to a people bound to us only by armed power? Undoubtedly an empire of a kind, are we to use the ancient ways of empires with their subject peoples?

In the next few months will come the sternest testing of this country's honor. The bill for a plebiscite on independence, passed by the Philippine legislature over the veto of Governor General Wood, is in the hands of President Coolidge. It must be acted upon within six months or it becomes invalid. His action in regard to it will show how much of truth lies in the charges, so often made by friends of the Islands' independence and indicated with such circumstantial detail by the Thompson mission, of a vast conspiracy between American business interests and our own "politicos" to use a fake "investigation" as a vehicle for hard-boiled imperialist propaganda.

Europe Steps Toward Peace

Timidly, of course. But forward none the less. The conference at Bierville, hailed as a meeting of pacifist youth, was not controlled by youth and failed, as a true pacifist body would not have failed, to stand against all war or to oppose the military subjection of colonies. But it brought together thousands of French and Germans in an atmosphere appreciably different from that of a battlefield, and this alone is worthy of attention. A metals trust controlled chiefly by Germans and French has been practically completed, and though it may be regretted from the labor point of view, it may serve at least to ameliorate those commercial rivalries out of which have grown to some extent the hate that flamed against the border from both sides through many years. A provisional economic accord, allowing six months in which to draft a more nearly permanent agreement, has been concluded between the erstwhile enemies. No longer is the League a "combine" of wartime allies, for Germany is in! The better spirit of Locarno, blown to sea last spring by the winds of nationalist aspiration, has laid its hands on Stresemann and Briand, if not yet on the German Nationalists and the chauvinist Poincaré. And even he, pressed by the desperate situation of the franc and also, doubtless, by the need of registering good intentions with America, has made a little cut in France's arms.

Nothing, however, save undue pessimism, could do more harm than thoughtless optimism. Italy, Poland, and Spain seethe with the poisonous emotions always induced in the masses for a time by sabre-rattling despots. While ostensibly catering to the sensibilities of the League of Nations, Italy concludes nobody knows how many separate agreements, whose provisions smack a good deal of the oldtime balance of power concept. The League and Russia remain hostile to each other, while Russia vies with her capitalist rivals for prestige among the turbulent peoples to the east. Staggered by the complications in the way of world-wide international harmony, various groups of countries are coming together for more restricted regional associations. On the Continent Coudenhove-Kalergi's advocacy of a Pan-European Federation similar to the Pan-American Union, voices a growing sentiment among intellectuals; and the definite beginnings of a Pan-Asiatic League are evident in the recent conference at Nagasaki. Superficially, these regional rapprochements herald deeper understanding and they may indeed do much for peace; but how far is their formation due to the fear of unfair competition by large powers in the deliberations of an all-embracing internationalism?

Meantime, the United States enters the World Court arrogantly demanding what amounts to special privilege, with reservations so drastic as to make the action mean but little. To an appeal for recognition of Russia made by an impartial commission headed by Sherwood Eddy and composed of observers who differ about the Soviets but who agree in favoring recognition, President Coolidge lets it be known in advance that from his previous anti-recognition stand he and his fellow business men refuse to budge. And we, self-advertised as eager for disarmament, could do no better than to send, not peacemakers but military tacticians, as did the other nations, to the preliminary sessions on arms reductions at Geneva—and with equal ineffectiveness.

There is plenty to be done! But even though Mars still is dominant, increasingly is he seen on the defensive. It is the holy task of all who do not like his hateful sway to keep him there.

DEVERE ALLEN.

WORTH WHILE PLAYS

MOST of the current drama is not worth writing about, and an evening spent at almost any of September's plays is so much time wasted. Some day or other, some one with a great need for a Ph. D. thesis can take the September play rush for a subject; there may be some excuse: psychological, sociological, economic, or whimsical, or perhaps just nonsensical, that forces out a crop of trashy "plays" at the beginning of the autumn theatre season. Mystery plays on the good old formula that seldom, if ever, fails; farces that are not meant to be such; and other inept, silly things. Trash that flutters on the edge of the theatrical waste-basket, and then at length falls in.

There are few plays to recommend—and they are, at this writing, the good things of last spring that are still with us: *Iolanthe,* in which, as every one knows, Gilbert and Sullivan poke fun at the House of Lords; Barrie's *What Every Woman Knows,* revived and made delightful by the charming performance of Helen Hayes as *Maggie Wylie,* an interpretation so great as to make you like the play even if you discount Sir James Barrie. These we recommend most heartily. There are besides some musical comedies and operettas of long standing and wide reputation that are pleasant and enjoyable. For the rest—*caveat emptor,* we should say off-hand. There are many rumors of fine plays to come. We live in hopes.

COLEY B. TAYLOR

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"But Evil Must Be Conquered"

IT is my purpose to discuss from month to month under the above caption, various phases of the task of creating a social order based on the religion of Jesus. In this first article I shall deal with one of the most baffling aspects of the whole problem, namely, methods of overcoming evil. This generation does not know how to deal effectively with wrongdoers. The state endeavors to protect its citizens by making use of the hangman's noose or the electric chair. The nation seeks security by armed preparedness for mass slaughter and wholesale devastation. Combatants on both sides of the industrial conflict resort to intimidation and violence. That the end justifies the means is a widely accepted doctrine. Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that in many quarters physical force has ben deified.

It is rapidly becoming apparent, however, that the continued worship of violence will wreck Western civilization. Modern science is placing at our disposal weapons of incalculable destruction and deadliness. If we dare to use them again on a great scale we will undermine the very foundations of orderly society. Our present civilization cannot survive many more great wars.

Likewise, due to the fact that the structure of modern society is so complex and delicately adjusted and the units involved in the industrial struggle are so gigantic, further reliance upon force and violence in the settlement of economic disputes will result in disaster. Industrialism, with its specialization, mass production and the crowding of vast multitudes into great cities, is destroying the independence of the individual and is making his very existence dependent upon the cooperation of large numbers of his fellows. Employers and workers in the basic industries have the public at their mercy. A prolonged strike or lockout in the coal mines or on the railways not only causes great distress and misery in the homes of hundreds of thousands of workers and inflicts heavy financial losses on the owners, but results in the general dislocation of the entire productive processes of the nation. As the stage of industrialism in a given country becomes more advanced, class consciousness and group solidarity increase. Continued reliance upon force and violence in industrial struggle can only lead to destruction and chaos.

AT a time like the present, when the suicidal nature of organized violence is becoming increasingly apparent, we will do well to scrutinize carefully other methods of dealing with wrongdoers. Chief among these is the proposal of Jesus that we overcome evil by doing good. Jesus lived in a world where violence reigned. His country was ruled with an iron hand by militaristic Rome. The entire political, economic and religious life of the nation was under the domination of the conqueror. During his lifetime the people were so completely crushed that there was comparative peaee, although sporadic revolts are recorded. At all times, however, the nation was seething with unrest and resentment against the foreign usurper, and everywhere there was a vivid expectation of the imminent coming of the Messiah, the warlike son of David, who would throw off the yoke of Rome and restore their ancient freedom and glory. Among Jesus' own disciples there was at least one Zealot, an advocate of armed rebellion. In an illuminating little book, *Toward the Understanding of Jesus,* Professor Simkhovitch of Columbia University has shown that one of the major questions confronting Jesus was whether or not he should sanction violent rebellion and lead his people against the invader. The reason for his refusal is clearly revealed by an examination of the nature of his teaching.

Jesus' conviction that evil can be overcome with good grows out of his conception of the universe. Belief in and companionship with God is the central fact of his experience. He regards God as Father of all mankind. Each individual is created in the image of God, is gifted with potential God-likeness and is of infinite worth. Even the least developed or most degraded is of greater value than the whole world of material possessions and should always be regarded as an end in himself and never as a means to an end. Since all men and women everywhere are brothers and sisters, children of one Father, Jesus chooses the virtues of the family as his standard of conduct. Consequently he rules out such attitudes and practices as greed, exploitation, contempt, hatred, revenge and murder. Good members of the family are characterized by sympathy, kindliness, love, forbearance, patience, forgiveness and sacrifice. The family virtues ought *never* to be abandoned: one must forgive not once, nor seven times, nor seventy times seven, but always; one must love not only the righteous but evildoers as well. The heart of Jesus' message is contained in the challenge: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you."

Jesus' belief that love and persuasion are more effective than hatred and violence rests upon two foundations: first, the conviction that those who rely upon spiritual weapons

have an invincible ally in God who is ever by their side and who is engaged in ceaseless activity against evil; and second, the assurance that all men, including evildoers and enemies, are created in the spiritual image of God and are by nature equipped to respond to the appeal of kindliness and love. Because Jesus feels sure that God is not passive and impotent but active and ultimately invincible and that man is not inherently depraved and vicious but potentially God-like, he refuses to use the weapons of Satan in seeking to cast out Satan, but chooses rather to rely upon the persuasive power of love incarnated in life.

IT should be emphasized, however, that Jesus does not anticipate an easy or immediate victory over evil. On the contrary, he foretells his own crucifixion and warns his disciples that they also run the risk of being persecuted and killed if they follow him. The important thing for Jesus is not whether he lives or dies, but whether he consistently follows his ideal. The cross of Calvary is final evidence of Jesus' trust in God and man. He could easily have avoided crucifixion if he had been willing to abandon his way of life. He was put to death because of the blindness, intolerance and selfishness of the ecclesiastical and political leaders of his day. Not only did they reject his teaching for themselves, they refused to let him proclaim his message by example and precept.

Jesus realizes that his disciples will suffer grievously if they follow his example, yet he urges them to be faithful to the end and not to fear those who have power to kill the body. He challenges them to resist evil by doing good and joyously to take the consequences of relying upon spiritual weapons. In the struggle between righteousness and wickedness, between innocence and guilt, who should suffer and who should die? It was said of old that it is better for the righteous to slay the wicked than that they themselves should perish. Jesus says that it is better for the innocent to die, if necessary, than to retaliate with evil for evil. Love and forgiveness are means of restoring the wrongdoer to right relations and of mending the broken bonds of the family.

One of the greatest tragedies of history is found in the fact that so few people have been willing to adopt Jesus' method of dealing with evildoers. It is true that many persons have used love and forgiveness in dealing with individual enemies, but only at rare intervals have organized groups used this method in dealing with corporate enemies. Since the conversion of Constantine organized Christianity has, with infrequent exceptions, sanctioned war and violence as means of gaining a desired end. While accepting the ideal of Jesus and professing to believe in his methods, most of his followers have, in their corporate capacity, rejected his way of overcoming evildoers. Most of them have never really believed that Jesus' religion is practicable in this present world. Consequently, they have diluted his teaching until it has lost much of its vitality.

Humanity is rapidly approaching the crossroads. Science is now forging weapons of such destructiveness and is creating a world society of such complexity and interdependence that further travel down the road of violence and war will lead to the precipice of chaos and destruction. Violent reaction, as in Italy under the Fascists, or violent radicalism, as in Russia under the Bolsheviks, may dominate the situation temporarily, but the lesson of history is clear that sooner or later terrorism produces counter-violence. Thoughtful persons can scarcely fail to view with great apprehension the perpetuation of the war system in international, racial and industrial relations. The other fork of the road may be lined with grave perils, but it can hardly be more dangerous than the way of violence.

It seems to me, therefore, that the only sane policy is to abandon the war method of dealing with evildoers and to create appropriate social machinery through which the method of love and persuasion may be expressed. For the state this would mean abolition of the death penalty and drastic changes in the penal system. For the nation it would mean the abandonment of armaments as means of defense against other nations and the creation of effective agencies of international conciliation and cooperation. In industry it would mean the abandonment of autocratic control maintained by intimidation and violence and the substitution of processes of democracy and cooperation.

THE challenge to present-day disciples of Jesus is clear and unmistakable. Time, energy, money and even life itself must be devoted to the practical task of creating social processes through which evil may be overcome with good. The hundreds of millions of dollars now being spent annually upon armaments and weapons of violence must be used in a world-wide educational campaign to create understanding, sympathy and cooperation between nations, races and classes. Tens of thousands of our ablest men and women must thoroughly equip themselves for unselfish leadership in this gigantic undertaking. Those persons who would be truly loyal to Jesus' way of life must renounce the doctrine that the end justifies the means, repudiate the war system in all its aspects, rely upon spiritual weapons and social processes that are consonant with the end sought, have faith in the latent capacity of evildoers to respond to kindliness and love, and trust God for ultimate victory.

Above all, modern disciples of Jesus must be willing to take the consequences of following his example and guidance. Overcoming evil is dangerous business, whether the weapons used are bayonets and bombs or love and forgiveness. The true soldier is expected to give limb or life rather than retreat or desert. The faithful revolutionary does not shirk imprisonment or execution. Evil can be overcome with good only when the adherents of spiritual processes are willing to endure ignominy, discomfort, pain and even death rather than abandon their ideal or forsake their method. "The Son of Man must suffer many things. . . . Behold I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves. . . . If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross and follow me. . . . If anyone comes to me and does not hate his father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, aye and his own life, he cannot be a disciple of mine. . . . When the Son of Man comes, will he find faith on earth?"

Kirby Page

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

1925 Unemployment Doles in Britain

According to the report of the Administrator of the National Health Insurance Act a dole averaging about $5 weekly per head was paid by the British Government to 977,600 unemployed in 1925.

Jewish Students in Hungary

During the next year only 190 Jewish students will be admitted to Hungarian universities, by order of the Hungarian Minister of Education. Of this total only one may study chemistry.

Japanese Students Resist Military Training

At Meiji Gakuin College in Tokyo, 117 students voted against the introduction of military training at the university with 82 votes in favor of it. The result was that military training was not established at this school. In other colleges where it already exists it is becoming increasingly unpopular.

War Resistance in Canada

The only woman member of Parliament, Agnes Macphail, is a real pacifist. Each time the estimates for cadet training have been introduced, she has moved a reduction by the whole amount, namely to zero. She received more support this year than ever before. James Woodsworth, Labor member for Winnipeg, brought in a resolution this session that Canada should be free from any obligation to take part in a war brought about by British foreign policy in which Canada had no voice.

British Coal Miners

The whole Labor and Trade Union Press of Europe now has in large headlines the words *"Help the British Miners."* Collections are in full progress in every country. In Holland relief stamps worth 25 cents each have been in circulation for some time. Austrian Labor is taking up the same idea and arranging for an immediate non-recurrent special contribution of 50 Groschen (3d) each, the money being advanced by the individual unions with a total membership of 700,000. Germany and Sweden have sent considerable amounts in response to a special appeal of the I. F. T. U.

Pan-Asiatic Congress

The Pan-Asiatic Congress meeting in Nagasaki and attended by fifty delegates from China, Japan, India and the Philippines, closed on August 3 after electing two Japanese, two Chinese, two Indians and one Filipino as directors of the new League of Asiatic Nations. The Congress rejected the proposal that Tokyo should be the headquarters of the Asiatic League of Nations and decided that the next Congress should be held at Peking. It is reported that a Chinese delegate startled the Congress by proposing that the Pan-Asiatic League should assist India and the Philippines to regain their independence, especially India, because India was the base of the white races in the Orient. A Japanese delegate deprecated public discussion of the proposal, fearing that the police would break up the meeting if anything injurious to Anglo-Japanese and American-Japanese friendly relations were debated. The Congress finally decided to discuss the proposal later in secret.

Illiteracy In the U. S.

A recent report of the U. S. Bureau of Education shows that in 1920 there were 4,931,905 illiterates over ten years old in this country of these 3,084,733 were native born.

Opposes Monroe Doctrine

An international Feminist Congress in session at Santiago, Chile, has adopted a resolution in opposition to the Monroe Doctrine, declaring the doctrine has caused the "loss of liberty" of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines.

Bids for Muscle Shoals

According to the International Brotherhod of Electrical Workers Journal the thirteen companies making the "administration favored" bid for Muscle Shoals are members of the General Electric trust. The union urges public ownership and distribution of power.

Teachers' Union Gains in France

The resolutions adopted at the national convention of the French Teachers' Union last year urging the various branches to see to it that every one of their members be the possessor of a card showing membership in the General Confederation of Labor (the regular national confederation) have resulted in 64,000 such cards being issued this year, against about 50,000 in 1925.

Negro Students

According to an article in the August *Crisis* more than 8,600 Negro students were enrolled last year in American colleges and universities, over 7,000 of this number being in Negro colleges and 1,600 in white institutions. The former conferred degrees on more than 1,000 students, 33 of whom received M.A. degrees, 519 that of Bachelor of Arts, and 173 that of Bachelor of Science. There were 100 graduated in medicine, 72 in dentistry, 38 in pharmacy, 37 in law and 47 in theology. In addition, the big northern universities conferred degrees on about 300 Negro students. Several received the degree of Ph.D. and a number were elected to membership in Phi Beta Kappa. The number graduated last year was about three times as large as that of five years ago.

Expense of War Preparations

Great Britain, France and the United States are the three countries of the world which spend most per capita on war preparations, according to statistics recently made available by the League of Nations. Great Britain comes first with average annual appropriations, including military, naval and aerial, exceeding $518,000,000, or $12.96 per capita. France follows with $255,000,000, or $6.43 per capita, and the United States is next with $554,000,000, or $4.94 per capita. After the United States comes Italy with an average annual expenditure on armaments of $156,000,000, or $3.86 per capita, and Japan is next with $219,000,000 or $3.68 per capita. Soviet Russia is found to spend least per capita of all the great powers on war preparations, with $191,000,000, or $1.45 per capita, falling even behind defeated Germany, whose armaments are strictly regulated at a minimum by treaty impositions after the war, and which now spends a total of $108,000,000 annually, or $1.70 per capita.

Books for the War on War

So This is Nationalism

WE live in a time when a worker can get along quite comfortably and respectably without belonging to a labor union and a consumer without membership in a cooperatrve society and the hungry soul without connection with any particular church, and even without professing belief in any God. But none of us can get along without belonging to a nation. We bring up our children to deplore the unhappy fate of a man without a country. Then we see to it that they have precious little chance ever to be men without a country. In short, the opening sentence of *Essays on Nationalism*[1] by Carlton J. H. Hayes, is amost a commonplace. "The most significant emotional factor in public life today is nationalism." Nevertheless, in English at least, there has been very little systematic study of nationalism. That is one reason why Professor Hayes's book is important. The other and greater reason is its own brilliance both of style and subject matter.

Professor Hayes begins with an analysis of nationalism itself. He distinguishes between nationalism as a historic process and nationalism as a belief. It is with the latter that he is chiefly, though not exclusively, concerned. He finds it compounded of several elements which may be distinguished. To begin with, there is what Professor Hayes calls "nationality," a group of consciousness of kind, dependent usually upon a common language, common traditions and a belief that the group constitutes a distinct cultural society. "Thus defined, nationality has existed from the earliest times of which history and anthropology can treat." In order to make modern nationalism out of this consciousness of nationality two elements have been added: (1) an acceptance of the powerful, authoritative national state and (2) the identification of that love of one's own native place with affection for and unquestioning loyalty to, the national state.

The combination of these elements has, of course, a definite historical development. But it is, in the strictest sense, artificial. Children would no more be nationalists in a modern sense without definite teaching than they would be Catholics or Christian Scientists. The criticism of nationalism, however. is not that it is artificial—so are all social beliefs in varying degrees—but that it is far from ennobling; "it is patriotic snobbery."

Professor Hayes has an illuminating chapter on the rise of nationalism and the contribution of various elements to it. Not often does one find a more satisfactory statement of the relation of economic factors to the growth of nationalism than Professor Hayes has given. He is right, I think, in emphasizing the fact that though modern nationalism could not exist had it not been for the industrial revolution, it is not to be explained in purely economic terms. It is primarily an emotion, nay more, a religion—a religion which in important respects is contrary to the economic needs of an interdependent world, but which is immensely useful to a privileged class.

Of nationalism as religion, of its relation to imperialism and militarism, of its essential intolerance, Professor Hayes writes with careful regard for objective facts, yet with a sense of the meaning of those facts which ought to stir the heart and brain of all those capable of thinking about the road to peace. In his concluding chapter he faces frankly the question: Is nationalism a blessing or a curse? Here he carefully sums up all that can be said for nationalism: its cultural advantages; its usefulness as a bulwark against a dead level of standardization for all the peoples of the world. It must be admitted that the list is less impressive than the list of evils which Professor Hayes also compiles. Nevertheless, nationalism, he feels, is so strongly established that it is better to try to reform it than to kill it. Internationalism is both more desirable and far more probable of attainment than cosmopolitanism. Internationalism is consistent with a true patriotism. The hope of achieving this better patriotism is through education. The list that Mr. Hayes is able to draw up of international forces and examples of international cooperation is at least sufficiently impressive to prevent complete discouragement.

I doubt whether Professor Hayes in discussing the possibility of educating for internationalism has given enough attention to the problem: Is it possible to achieve internationalism under the present economic order? If it is achieved may it not be merely at the price of intensifying the conflict between exploiters and exploited? Professor Hayes has done a magnificent job in pointing out the defects of nationalism as a religion. Not many gods are as cruel and vulgar as the political state. Worship of the state has claimed more victims than any other religion. But is that not partly because we have today so much greater scientific facility in slaughtering? I am inclined to think that the world in spite of religion and nationalism has made some progress in humanity. The priests of the national state have not yet matched the cruelty of Catholic or Protestant inquisitors. Theoretically you can make a strong case for the superiority of almost any universal religion to nationalism. Practically I am inclined to think that nationalism as a religion in some cases, for instance, in Mexico, with all its faults, is doing more for the submerged peon than did the church in the days of its power. This is a subject on which one would like to hear the opinion of so enlightened a Catholic and so competent a historian as Professor Hayes. That the application of the principles laid down in his book gives rise to such questions is in my judgment only another proof of its unusual value.

NORMAN THOMAS.

The Sphinx' Question

DISARMAMENT,[2] by P. J. Noel Baker, leaves comparatively little to be desired. Within relatively small compass, it discusses disarmament as to its meaning, its difficulties, and its solutions. It gives an interesting and encouraging resume of the measures taken since 1919 to scotch, if not to kill, the portentous serpent of competitive armaments. It devotes two-thirds of its pages to a patient and hopeful analysis of the difficulties, real and imaginary. which beset the problem, and the steps deemed necessary for their solution. Finally, it states sundry strong reasons why the problem ought to be solved, —and solved by our generation.

Readers of the *World Tomorrow* will probably be most interested in this last topic, and they will find detailed and convincing reasons, social, economic, international, why the problem of disarmament has become the question of our modern sphinx, and the lack of an answer, world suicide.

These reasons are numerous; but almost any one of them should be sufficient for the rational mind. For example: the cost of maintaining existing armaments is equivalent to at least one month's work each year of all the producers, scientific geniuses, and ingenious machinery of the "most advanced" nations; it constitutes for the masses of Europe all the difference between grinding penury and a reasonable standard of comfort. Or, from the international point of

1 Published by the Macmillan Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $3.00 postpaid.

2 Published by Harcourt, Brace and Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $4.00 postpaid.

view: Armaments determine national policies in international dealings, and are incompatible with the objects of the League of Nations. Again, on the side of national honor: By Article VIII of the Covenant, the Preamble to Part V of the Treaty of Versailles, and the Allies' answer to Germany's protest in 1919, the European governments are solemnly and mutually pledged to a general reduction and limitation of their own armed forces.

When it comes to the method of disarmament, our author is not so drastic. We should expect him,—in line with old John Sherman's dictum that "the way to resumption is to resume,"—to declare that the way to disarmament is to disarm. Instead, he indicates as the ultimate goal of a long, slow journey, the reduction of armaments to their status of about the year 1860; and even this goal relates itself in his mind to their size, rather than to their use.

"Security," a disguised imperialism, and the use of armaments for the enforcement of "peace": such are the obsessions from which even Professor Baker has not yet freed himself. The world is hearing at present only the reiterated dictum that there can be no disarmament without security. It must be taught that there can be no security without disarmament; that armaments are the most stupid kind of "insurance," since they are the prime cause of the catastrophe they are intended to prevent; that imperialism in whatever form spells tyranny and exploitation; and that peace, if it be achieved by right methods and in the right spirit, needs no enforcement.

Our author assumes that the only possible agency for disarmament is the League of Nations. But if the League's present effort should fail, another Washington Conference of the "Great Powers,"—this time, not excluding Russia,—may perhaps succeed in undoing what the "Great Powers" are themselves responsible for having done. In anticipation of such achievement, may the *World Tomorrow* and its readers help the nations to learn the burden and iniquity of armaments as set forth in Professor Baker's and other similar books, and to see clearly the meaning and goal of genuine disarmament.

WILLIAM I. HULL

The Ghost that Haunts Peace Tables

SINCE René Marchand started the ball rolling with his famous *Un Livre Noir*, each post-war year has seen the growth of a vast amount of literature exposing wartime pretensions and strengthening, by new documentary revelations, the "revisionist" position on the apportionment of responsibility for the catastrophe of 1914.

Those who would like, from a limited amount of reading, to become informed on the questions growing out of the discussion of World War guilt could not do better than to acquire the *Genesis of the World War*,[1] by the able and energetic Harry Elmer Barnes. Responsibility for the War he places on various nations in an order which will be striking to those not yet familiar with this growing revisionist literature: Russia and France he considers jointly and primarily responsible, with Austria close behind, and with Germany and England tied for the next place of "honor." Whatever one may think before one reads Barnes, he will be moved to a deeper understanding of those mad days of twelve years ago last summer.

Three other books on a similar subject, each with its own special merits, are: *The Limitations of Victory*,[2] by Alfred Fabre-Luce; *Isvolsky and the World War*,[3] by Frederick Stieve, and in particular, *The Serajevo Crime*,[4] by M. Edith Durham.

D. A.

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1 Published by Alfred A. Knopf. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop. $3.50, postpaid.

2 Published by Alfred A. Knopf. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop. $4.00, postpaid.

3 Published by Alfred A. Knopf. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop. $3.50, postpaid.

4 Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop. $3.00.

Toward the Flame

HERVEY ALLEN, the poet, describes vividly what he saw of the World War during scenes of its most strenuous fighting. The book contains no attacks on war and no defenses of it; war is taken for granted. But it has rarely been equalled as an accurate reminder of what modern war is in actuality. (Published by George H. Doran Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.00 postpaid.)

D. A.

The Road to Peace

A VETERAN journalist, Herman Bernstein, reports his interviews with sixteen leaders of seven countries, in which a wide range of subjects is touched on. The introduction groups the peace plans of those interviewed. Romain Rolland's downright, uncompromising pacifism is the outstanding feature of the book. The title is somewhat a misnomer. (Published by Frank-Maurice, Inc., New York. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.50 postpaid.)

H. C. E.

Information on Disarmament

COVERING succinctly, but adequately, almost every conceivable question that might arise on disarmament and the progress made toward it up to the latter part of 1925, *Information on the Reduction of Armaments*, by J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, Jr., in its 216 pages of ready-to-use statistical and reference material constitutes a good handbook for those who are writing, speaking, and working in other ways for world peace. (Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $3.50 postpaid.)

D. A.

The Enemy

CHANNING POLLOCK has novelized his pacifist play. The events of the war, from June 1914, are dramatically presented in the lives of an Austrian professor, Dr. Arndt, a true pacifist, his daughter Pauli who never loses sight of the futility and madness of war, and Carl Behrend, her young husband, who, until war was declared, was a pacifist. Propaganda and mobilization in Vienna affected Carl just as it did young men in all countries. The days of victory, successes, followed by tedious years, despair, armistice and disillusionment are convincingly told. (Published by Brentano's, New York. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $2.00 postpaid.)

A. A. S.

Teaching the Young Idea How to Hate

EVERY now and then somebody rises to lament the inculcation of nationalistic hatreds by the text books which influence children in the schools. Few, however, are the painstaking studies which have been made of this iniquitous practice. In *The Menace of Nationalism in Education*, Jonathan French Scott exposes without frenzy or sensationalism the extent of such propaganda in the educational systems of France, Germany, and England, with only a hint, alas, at the United States. An exceedingly valuable handbook for those who desire good concrete material to reinforce their pleas against the promotion of war-breeding patriotism. (Published by The Macmillian Co. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $1.60 postpaid.)

D. A.

War and Art

ELIE FAURE'S symbolical book, *The Dance Over Fire and Water* (translated from the French by John Gould Fletcher), makes a searching examination of the "questing spirit of man." He surveys the progress of civilization. He holds that progress has come out of war, revolutions and violent sufferings. If war has seemed to be the great producer of art and progress must we accept Faure's conclusion that without war and revolution there is no creative activity? We do not believe that peace and sterility are synonymous. Exhausion, destruction and retrogression, both physical and moral, which follow war and revolution make us seek a moral equivalent strong enough to make for progress. (Published by Harper and Brothers. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, $3.00, postpaid.)

A. A. S.

A Reading List on Militarism

Now Is the Time, by Arthur Ponsonby. Seltzer.

Military Training in Schools and Colleges of the U. S., by W. D. Lane. Committee on Militarism in Education.

Military Training in the Schools and Colleges of Massachusetts, by A. Surney. Century Press.

Christ or Mars, by Will Irwin. Appleton.

The Abolition of War, by Eddy and Page. Doran.

Armaments Year Book. League of Nations.

Prevention of War, by Kerr and Curtis. Yale University Press.

The Roots and Causes of War (1914-1918), by Sir J. S. Ewart, 2 Vols. Doran.

Causes of International War (1920), by G. Lowes Dickinson. Harcourt, Brace.

Modern Europe (1878-1920), by G. P. Gooch. Holt.

The Next War, by Will Irwin. E. P. Dutton.

War—Its Nature, Cause and Cure, by Dickinson. Macmillan.

Now It Can be Told, by Philip Gibbs. Harper and Bros.

Plumes, by Lawrence Stallings. Harcourt, Brace.

Non-Violent Coercion, by Clarence M. Case. Century Co.

Manual of Military Training, by Moss and Lang. Quartermaster Association.

War—Its Causes, Consequences and Cure, by Kirby Page. Doran.

An American Peace Policy, by Kirby Page. Doran.

The Inexhaustible Lie, by Harold Peat. Hopkins Co.

Shall It Be Again? by John Kenneth Turner. Huebsch & Co.

Security Against War, by Frances Kellor. Macmillan.

War as Viewed by Jesus and the Early Church, by Wilfred Wellock. No More War Movement.

HONORABLE MENTION

"What book have you recently found especially worth while?" In response to this query we have received the following titles:

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, Pastor. Park Avenue Baptist Church, New York: *Increase Mather, The Foremost American Puritan,* by Kenneth Ballard Murdock (Harvard University Press).

HENRY SLOANE COFFIN, President, Union Theological Seminary, New York: *My Apprenticeship,* by Beatrice Webb (Longmans, Green & Company).

ALBERT F. COYLE, Editor, The Locomotive Engineers' Journal, Cleveland: *Now is the Time,* by Arthur Ponsonby (Seltzer).

OF GENERAL INTEREST BUT OF SPECIAL WORTH

Good Education and the Good Life

THERE are many reasons for rejoicing at the appearance of Bertrand Russell's *Education and the Good Life.*[1] One is that it is a very fine book. Another is that it is an event of the utmost importance in the educational world (indeed in the whole round world) when a first-rate human intelligence occupies itself with the question of how young children should be helped to prepare themselves for life.

The few first-rate human minds which have in the course of many centuries considered the training of young children, have been the shadow of a great rock in an ungrateful moral desert. Two of them, Pestalozzi and Froebel, were belittled as baby-tenders; Rabelais' contemporaries, and most of his subsequent readers, were too enchanted by his grossness to see the depth and life-loving wisdom of his ideas on education for the young; Montaigne's readers have been too high-brow and consciously sophisticated to understand from their adult pedestal the profound significance of his notions of child-culture. Perhaps Bertrand Russell's attention to childhood will fare similarly with the sort of lettered people who consider it beneath their dignity to pay any attention to babies and children "until they are half-way reasonable beings, who can read and write and understand the rudiments of civilized talk," (as the usual stupid phrase goes). That is, until it is quite too late to accomplish any real education of the new human personality.

I have rarely known a more hearty enjoyment than reading this book, and reflecting on the sort of people who would undoubtedly read it, because Bertrand Russell wrote it, but who would not be able to dodge quickly enough to get away from the knowledge (from which they are usually protected by a chain-mail of insensitiveness,) that it is beneath nobody's dignity, to apply to the education of a little child all the wisdom learned from a life's experience.

A few specialists in the new "science" (as it is hopefully called) of child-psychology, find Mr. Russell rather naive in his freshness of interest in that field, as if he had just discovered it; and they mention also the fact that he is not so exhaustively well-read in the "literature of the subject" as some lesser people are. These are the usual comments of specialists in any field on the work of an outsider who has been known as a specialist in something else. Personally I found this quality of freshness of interest like a perfume of delight through the whole book.

To me, Mr. Russell's humane book was like a long draught of sparkling, living water from a mountain spring, which gives new courage to climb. I am warmed through and through by his certainty, that something fine can be accomplished for young children by the right training, a certainty which comes, I dare say, from his being (as I am myself) a flesh-and-blood parent, with the fairly physical need of being sure, that the right sort of effort will make things better for the children.

Listen to this passage, and reflect that it is Bertrand Russell's voice you hear: "I will take four characteristics which seem to me jointly to form the basis of an ideal character: vitality, courage, sensitiveness and intelligence. I do not suggest that this list is complete, but it carries us a good way. *Moreover I firmly believe* that by proper physical, emotional and intellectual care of the young *these qualities could all be made very common.* I will consider each in turn."

[1] Published by Boni & Liveright, Through *The World Tomorrow* Book Shop, $2.50, postpaid.

Doesn't that sound like more? Doesn't that make you wish to read on down the page where he "considers each in turn" with all his own old honesty and courage and acuteness, all warmed this time, as those stern, intellectual qualities are not often, by enthusiasm and the forward-looking hope which makes effort the happiest possible privilege.

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER

Christianity Versus Capitalism

IN his admirable study of *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*[1], Mr. R. H. Tawney makes it abundantly clear that historical Christianity, like every other great religion, has claimed for its own the whole field of human conduct, including economic relations and social organization. Over a period now running back for more than a century, however, the West has come to believe, and to act on the belief, "that the world of commercial transactions is a closed compartment with laws of its own," and has developed a body of theory that justifies its belief and its practice. The church still formally asserts its dominion over the whole of life; but, broadly speaking, it has in fact ceased to maintain, that it possesses an independent standard of social values, and thus has actually given up its claim to act as practical guide in economic and social affairs. It is the story of this development and its results that Mr. Tawney traces in four beautifully written and abundantly documented chapters, dealing successively with the medieval background, the Continental reformers (Luther and Calvin), the Church of England, and the Puritan movement. The interaction of economic changes and religious thinking he studies with deep learning, discriminating judgment, and true reverence for ideas, institutions, and above all, human beings.

The sixteenth century, with its revolutionary changes in commerce, finance, prices and land tenure, constituted "a watershed in economic development," to use Mr. Tawney's picturesque phrase. The economic doctrines of the church (the law of usury, for example) were developed within the simple economic framework of feudalism, where they were well adapted to the protection of the poor. They did not fit, and could not be made to fit, the new hustling world of business enterprise. They simply had to be made over. But the church proved intellectually and spiritually unequal to the herculean task.

Puritans as well as Catholics failed lamentably in their attempt to make business take its proper instrumental place within the dominantly spiritual Christian life. They ended by justifying the new capitalism and giving to it "a foundation of granite."

What is the upshot of it all? Our existing economic order, like many of the projects for its reform, Mr. Tawney thinks, does violence to human nature in assuming, that the attainment of material wealth is the supreme object of human endeavor. Unless the church can successfully insist on its distinctively spiritual view of human nature and can subjugate business to spiritual ends, then indeed is the glory departed from Israel. Has the church, have spiritually minded men, enough of courage, intellectual vigor, and statesmanlike vision, to save a world imperiled by its own success? "Compromise is as impossible between the Church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth, which is the practical religion of capitalist societies, as it was between the Church and the State idolatry of the Roman Empire." Let the Christian then take earnestly to heart the magnificent sentence which Mr. Tawney quotes from Bishop Berkeley: "Whatever the world thinks, he who hath not much meditated upon God, the human mind, and the *summum bonum*, may possibly make a thriving earthworm, but will most indubitably make a sorry patriot and a sorry stateman."

HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

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[1] Published by Harcourt, Brace Co., through THE WORLD TOMORROW Book Shop, $3.50, postpaid.

BETTER BOOKS *for* ALL-ROUND READING

Any of the following books may be ordered from The World Tomorrow Book Shop at the regular retail price. We pay the postage.

The American Labor Year Book, 1926. New York. Rand School of Social Science. 7½ x 5¼. 571 pages. $3.00. All about Labor from the Amalgamated to the Young Workers League, from Raphael Abramovitch to Gregory Zinoviev. A mine of authentic information.

What Is Civilization? by Maurice Maeterlinck and others. New York. Duffield & Company, 1926. 8½ x 5½. 217 pages. $2.50. Seven answers to a vexed problem. Of course, they disagree violently, but therein lies the attraction of the volume.

Social Problems and Education, by Ernest R. Groves. New York. Longmans, Green and Company, 1925. 8 x 5½. 458 pages. $2.75. A text for classes on outstanding social problems of today. Concrete and well informed.

Free Thought in the Social Sciences by J. A. Hobson. New York. Macmillan Company, 1926. 8¾ x 5¾. 288 pages. $4.00. Challenges of many sacred doctrines of the social sciences, both radical and conservative. A stimulating piece of work.

Words for the Chisel, by Genevieve Taggard. New York. Knopf, 1926. 8¼ x 5½. 87 pages. $2.00. In days of old, these verses might have been called half feminine, half masculine. Be that as it may, they *are* remarkable for their unusual combination of fragile beauty with stark vigor.

The Story of Philosophy, by Will Durant. New York. Simon and Schuster, 1926. 9¾ x 6¾. 577 pages. $5.00. Do you feel that philosophy must of necessity be heavy? You're wrong. Controversial in places, but on the whole reliable, is this informative and readable work.

The New Natural History, by J. Arthur Thomson. New York. Putnam, 1926. 11 x 8½. Vols. I and II, 384 pages each. Each volume $6.00. Magnificently illustrated and delightfully written. His "popular" arrangement is a bit chaotic, but Thomson is over 99 44/100% dependable. Considering the illustrations—at least one to every page—the type, and the paper, the price is reasonable. Vol. III, uniform with these, will be out soon, completing the set.

The Unknown Bible, by Conrad Henry Moehlman. New York. Doran, 1926. 7¾ x 3¼. 271 pages. $2.00. If Bruce Barton hasn't yet convinced you that nobody, himself included, knows the Bible, give Professor Moehlman, who is a scholar and a lively-writing gentleman, a chance to surprise and fascinate you. A book for all who wish real facts, and an appropriate Christmas gift—but not to fundamentalists who spell it with a capital F.

The Fool in Christ, by Gerhart Hauptmann. New York. The Viking Press, 1926. 8¼x5½. 474 pages. $2.50. A reprint of a novel by Germany's foremost living dramatist and poet. One of the most fascinating attempts at recreating the character of Jesus. And do not overlook Ernest Boyd's introduction.

The Repression of Crime, by Harry Elmer Barnes. New York. Geo. H. Doran Company, 1926. 8½ x 5¾. 382 pages. $2.50. Sound studies of the criminal codes, prisons, the jury system, and related subjects of penology and criminology. The title and the "blurb" are misleading.

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Concerning Parents, A Symposium on Present Day Parenthood. New York. New Republic, Inc. 1926. 6¾ x 5. 284 pages. $1.00. What the "new" parents can learn from the "new" sciences in order to rear "new" children. Fascinating and important.

Starlight, by Harlow Shapley. New York. Geo. H. Doran Company. 1926. 7 x 4¾. 143 pages. $1.00. A magnificent trip through the skies with a great astronomer. You make the trip without the heavy burden of calculus or an astronomical dictionary, but you are with an expert guide.

The American College and Its Rulers, by J. E. Kirkpatrick. New York. New Republic, Inc., 1926. 6¾ x 5. 309 pages. $1.00. Pungent criticism of our system of higher education. Prof. Kirkpatrick lost his job for his temerity.

Moral Philosophy, by Warner Fite. New York. Lincoln Mac Veagh. The Dial Press. 9 x 6½. $3.50. Define morality as "the self-conscious living of life" and the study of morality as "a study of the meaning and value of life" and you have the key to this Moral Philosophy. It leaves the authoritarians to follow their Commandments and Codes and Categorical Imperative and Golden Sayings, and endeavors to propound a humanistic or libertarian ehtics.

This Believing World, by Lewis Browne. New York. Macmillan. 1926. 8¾ x 5¾. 347 pages. $3.50. An outline—or better, less than that—of comparative religion done by a scholar, a lively writer, a fairly good illustrator, and a realist who nevertheless reveres the good in all religious movements. And it's all the same fellow. Honest!

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The DECEMBER WORLD TOMORROW: DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY.

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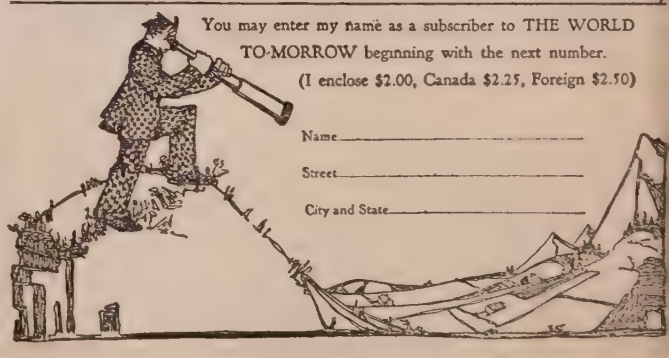

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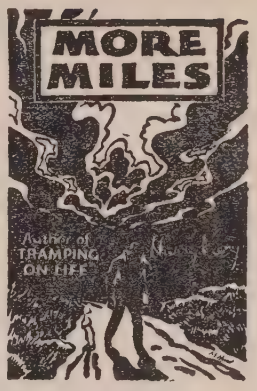

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For Russian Recognition

To the President of the United States:

We, a group of American citizens, having just completed a month's stay in Russia, desire to record our conviction that the United States Government should not further delay its formal recognition of the present Government of Russia on terms consistent with the mutual interests and honor of both Governments. We believe that a conference should be called immediately with representatives of the Russian Government to settle all differences. We have reached this conviction after an intensive investigation of the political, economic, social and religious conditions obtaining in Russia, during which we have mingled freely with the common people, had many conferences with leaders of state and thought in that country, including many foreigners residing there, and after much discussion among ourselves. Our investigations and conferences have disclosed a wide variety of opinion among us as to the character and merits of the colossal experiment upon which the people of Russia have embarked. This variety of opinion expresses the varying attitudes of general approval, hope, doubt, suspended judgment, and positive condemnation. But upon those aspects of the situation which are relevant to the question of recognition we are in unanimous agreement. These we conceive to be the following:

1. It has not been the policy of the United States to base its recognition of other Governments upon its approval of the character and practices of those Governments.

2. The present Government of Russia has, in our opinion, in its nine years of existence, under the most extreme tests, proved itself a stable and, so far as we can discern, an enduring Government of the Russian people.

3. All the other leading nations of the world have recognized the present Government and have established trade relations with Russia.

4. It is not compatible with the economic interests of the United States further to withhold recognition. Russia presents to the world an inestimably vast opportunity for investment and trade. Foreign capital is being invited and, despite the unfamiliar conditions under which it is expected to operate, it is already flowing into Russia in a stream which we believe is destined greatly to increase during the years ahead. We believe that the Government of the United State should put itself in such a position that it may set up a consular organization in Russia by means of which the usual service can be rendered to American business interests. This can be done only on the basis of recognition.

5. Nor is it, in our opinion, compatible with the moral ideals of the American people further to withhold recognition. Differing as we, the undersigned, do among ourselves in our judgment as to the significance and worth of the present regime in Russia, we nevertheless are in essential accord as to the unwisdom of allowing any disapproval of certain features in that regime to actuate our country's further withholding of recognition of the Government. The Russian people have been launched upon a social experiment fraught with much that is evil, but also with much that is good. How the balance stands between the evil and the good, we do not undertake to say, nor do we agree among ourselves. But upon this we are agreed: That recognition by the Government of the United States will have the effect of encouraging the influences that make for good and discouraging the influences that make for evil in the Soviet state. The welfare, not only of the one hundred and forty million people of Russian but of all mankind will be profoundly affected by the outcome of this unparalleled social revolution. The best thing that can happen to the people of Russian at this time, and to other nations insofar as the outcome of the Russian experiment involves them, is, in our judgment, the establishing of normal relations with other peoples. We believe that our own nation should at once remove the repressive influence with which non-recognition restricts the natural outworking of those economic and social forces from which no form of political organization may hope to escape. It is in the interest of all mankind that these forces be given free play through normal contacts with the rest of the world. The Russian experiment may eventually fail. Again, it may eventually succeed. If it succeeds, in spite of our refusal or recognition, our national consciousness will recall with regret our arbitrary and short-visioned policy of withholding recognition. If, on the other hand, it is destined by the inescapable laws of human society to fail, it is our belief that a normal relation between the Soviet Government and the family of nations, including our own, will have the effect of greatly ameliorating the catastrophe of such failure.

In view of these considerations, it is our conviction that the Government of the United States should convey to the present Russian Government an expression of its willingness to enter into conference immediately with the Russian Government looking toward recognition on the basis of a mutually satisfactory adjustment of existing debts and claims, and a guarantee against the carrying on of revolutionary propaganda by the Soviet Government in the United States. Signed:

Sherwood Eddy, publicist and lecturer, New York; Charles Clayton Morrison, editor, The Christian Century; Tully C. Knoles, President College of the Pacific; Jerome Davis, Professor, Yale University; Samuel Cahan, Instructor of Journalism, Syracuse University; G. Bromley Oxnam, Minister, Los Angeles; John Carruthers, Professor, Occidental College; Louise Gates, General Secretary of the Y.W.C.A., Toledo; Matthew Spinka, Professor, Chicago Theological Seminary; Frederick Winston, Attorney, Minneapolis; Kirby Page, Editor, The World Tomorrow, New York. Several members of the party have not yet returned to America and consequently their signatures could not be obtained although at the last meeting in Moscow, attended by most of the party, a resolution favoring recognition of Russia by the United States was passed unanimously.

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For Group Discussion

These questions are based in part on material in this issue; further light regarding them may be found from the books listed after the topical reviews. They are divided into four sections for the convenience of groups meeting weekly, but are adaptable, by selection, for monthly discussions.

I. "Preparedness"

1. To be *absolutely* safe from defeat in war, which countries, in combination, must we be able to conquer?

2. We now spend well over 500 millions of dollars annually on the army and navy. How much per year, in your estimation, would it cost to be as well prepared as you decided in answering question 1?

3. After the Boxer uprising we returned China's indemnity, which was used for education of Chinese youths in the United States. Was this, or was it not, a genuine form of preparedness against China's participation in any attack on the U. S. A?

4. Look up the definitions of militarism in the Century, Webster and Funk and Wagnalls Standard dictionaries. Is there a general agreement?

II. Propaganda

1. Recently, in a moving picture theatre in Bridgeport, Conn., which was filled with boys and girls, a view was shown of some German Republic Reichswehr troops drilling in review. Immediately the children broke into wild applause. Why? Outline one by one as far as you can, the influences culminating in such enthusiasm.

2. Try to rid yourself of previous emotional prejudices, and discuss as if you had never heard them before the relative merits of the following well-known phrases: "My country is right or wrong"; "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you"; "There never was a good war or a bad peace"; "America First"; "Overcome evil with good"; "War is a necessary evil"; "You can't change human nature."

3. Did you ever hear of a public school or university teacher being dismissed for favoring military drill? If not, why not? If so, what is your view of the practice?

4. Have you ever seen any envelopes postmarked with appeals for world peace, similar to the appeals for military training camps? Why not, do you think?

5. What is the historic and constitutional relation of the civil authority to the military in the United States? Have there been any specific departures from that relationship in recent times?

III. As Others See Us

1. What would be the effect on you if you suddenly heard that in Canada, Mexico, Japan, and England, military training was on the increase?

2. Do pacifists exaggerate the effect on other countries of sending military men as delegates to peace conferences on arbitration missions, etc? Or of battleship fleet cruises and army airplane flights to other lands?

3. Do you believe this country is regarded with more or less kindly feeling to-day than twenty-five years ago, in Europe, South America, Asia? Admitting that we are a great creditor nation, would we be liked more or less if we were totally disarmed?

IV. Alternatives to Military Defense

1. Would our country be attacked, today, if it took the lead and disarmed more rapidly than other countries?

2. Is military defense the only form of resistance against unjust and cruel demands, the only alternative to passive, yielding acquiescence?

3. Can you suggest positive ways of converting a potential enemy country into a friendly one never to be feared?

4. How far toward paying for such projects would go the $500,000,000 and more spent annually for military preparedness?

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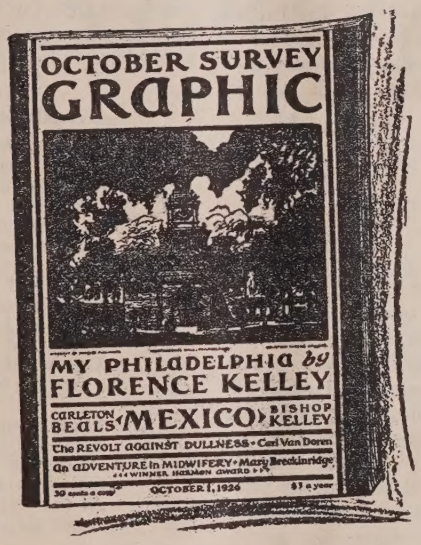
SURVEY GRAPHIC

Is the Magazine That's "FOR"

The fashion of being against *things has become so prevalent in magazinedom that about the only things you are safe in being* for *today — above a whisper — are Confessions, Jazz and Glittering Generalities.*



There are positive values in the program of exposure and destruction that has marked the past decade of serious journalism in America: it has in part at least prepared the way for the magazine of the future.

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A famous child expert says that adults don't know how to grow up—and she says it most convincingly in—

Nineteen Ways of Being a Bad Parent
I Would Rather Die Than Go Home
The Child Who is a Leader
The Glorious Adventure of Being Grown Up
The Family Triumphant

by MIRIAM VAN WATERS, referee of the Juvenile Court of Los Angeles.

WHAT'S WORTH FIGHTING FOR IN AMERICAN LIFE? A challenge to the do-nothings, by Mary E. MacDowell, Judge Florence Allen, Mayor Bertha K. Landis, Bishop McConnell, John Haynes Holmes, Carl Van Doren, Sherwood Eddy and others.

THE REVOLUTION ON QUALITY STREET, by Leon Whipple, dissects the Atlantic, Harper's, Century, Scribners, Forum and Mercury.

COMING—WOMAN'S PLACE NUMBER. With one married woman out of ten in the U. S. A. "gainfully employed" outside the home, it is no longer a question of whether the home is her "place," but how her being away is affecting the home, herself, her husband, her children, her future, her nation. Contributors to this number include Helen Glen Tyson, Stuart Chase, William Green, Paul Douglas, Mrs. Abel J. Gregg, Eleanor R. Wembridge, Dr. Beatrice M. Hinkle, Zona Gale, Dr. Ira S. Wile, and others.

FASCISM—*Challenge to the Spirit of '76*
(E. C. Lindeman, collaborating)

Contributors to this number include: Francis Hackett, Chester Rowell, Sanford Griffith, Prezzolini, Pirandello, Benedetti Croce, Lincoln Steffens, H. N. Brailsford and William Bolitho. An extensive review of the spirit and working of the new Caesarism, and its meaning for America.

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WT1126

The Last Page

READERS of this page are in very much the same position, no doubt, as the members of a certain congregation in New York State, one of whom arose, upon the return of the pastor to his first service after a summer respite, and prayed: "Thou knowest, Lord, that we hope the minister has enjoyed his vacation as much as we have."

My vacation has taught me I am growing older. Not that I mind it; but the signs are unmistakable. In the first place, I have taken up golf. Not, let me hasten to assert, in the orthodox country club manner, the luxuries of which induced Sarah Cleghorn once to write:

> The golf links lie so near the mill
> That almost every day
> The laboring children can look out
> And see the men at play.

Mine is an informal and more satisfying kind, played in a series of pastures belonging to hospitable neighbors, out on the wide open spaces that are not, by a jugful, so open as I sometimes wish they were. Nevertheless, the record round is but one stroke below my finest score, and who knows? *some* day I may actually take fewer strokes for the easy hole than for the others. And if some time I succeed in shooing away the menagerie of cows, horses and dogs which follows us interestedly about the fields, down will go my score and up my wavering self-esteem. For years I sneered at golf, called it an old man's game, swore it was tame and lady-like and dull, but the years begin to tell; for I am now a devotee. And yet I know, you see, that in those days of mocking I was absolutely right.

* * *

BUT there is further evidence. On a certain day in my vacation a young acquaintance talked with me about baseball. He listened patiently while I illustrated small points by copious citations from the press anent my own one-time performances. At length, prompted either by an honest curiosity or an equally honest skepticism, he asked about my batting average. Now that batting average, as well as the number of strike-outs, hits allowed, or even the weather during a given game, had been a central part of my ego for I won't tell you how many years. Aroused from deep slumber and asked point blank what I batted for the season of so-and-so, I could have fired it at the questioner with more promptness than a train announcer enlightening a curious public—and with almost as much contempt. But this time I couldn't, absolutely couldn't, tell. Neither that, nor the time of that best quarter mile, nor even the name of the pitcher whose outdrop I knocked nearly out of the lot, scoring four (or was it five?) runs. Need further proof be summoned of my aging?

It won't be long before I shall begin to refer to myself as "so many years young"; and then, assuredly, senescence will be coming on in earnest.

* * *

UNLIKE the vacationing Mr. Coolidge, whose astral body takes the form of a White House Spokesman when prudence warrants it (as it usually does), I had no telegraph wires carrying 25,000 words a day to an eager public about my fishing, hiking, conferring, visiting or early rising. The reason is, of course (save for the last), I wasn't news. The miraculous *is* news; and the President's summer-time development was, indeed, miraculous. Before, according to the Spokesman, Mr. Coolidge considered fishing but child's play; while the new Coolidge took fish out of the Adirondack streams at a terrific rate—almost as fast from one end as they could be put in at the other. The former rider of the electric horse, so the reporters told us, tired out his guide; more likely a tired President guyed the reporters. But one chance still remains for him to capture more of the sporti public's loyalty. In Pennsylvania, a conference of ministers co plained because the recent prize fight took up so much attention. "Ja Dempsey displaced President Coolidge," they declared, "as the fai prime attraction." The remedy is simple. Couldn't the Offic Spokesman be induced to take on Mr. Tunney? Victory, with consequent appeal to the voters, would be preordained; for if a priz fighter exists who could so much as touch that artful dodger, would have to have clairvoyant powers of perception.

* * *

Translation, into English, from the Kipling

In verses far from rippling,
Our old friend Rudyard Kipling
  Comes out to cast a brick at Uncle Sam;
Why, Sir! says he in dudgeon,
I'd swat you with a bludgeon
  Were poetry not a subtler way to damn.

If you had done your *bit,* Sir,
You'd have gotten into *it,* Sir,
  In time to make the end distinctly cleaner.
If you had done more fighting
You would now not need indicting,
  And the bloomin' bloody world would be serener.

Egad, from Manda*lay,* Sir,
Without benefit of *pay,* Sir,
  From far New Zealand and from Cape Good Hope,
Our (do) minions sprang to arms, Sir,
At the very *first* alarms, Sir;
  Did *they* ask any awkward questions? Nope.

Were you decent you'd *lament,* Sir,
That you ever charged a *cent,* Sir,
  For your chance to increase Anglo-Saxon glory;
Look at us, my boy, we're *pure;*
All we did was just make *sure*
  Of a million miles of added territory.

As one good friend to another,
Or imperialist, or brother,
  I'm frank to say your riches make me sore.
Why demmit, like a duffer
You stood still and watched us suffer
  To make the world respect the British more.

You were piling up your cash
While I gnawed my best mustache
  And turned out prose to keep the soldiers hot;
So I swear, Sir, by my verse
(Even if it's getting worse)
  I'll *denounce* you for the gain I wish we'd got.

* * *

IN FRANCE, two towns have at last made peace, after a bitte feud of 800 years over the division of some holy relics of a sain Henry Drummond once told of two missionaries who, though alon on an island among hostile natives, had lived eight years at opposit ends of the island because they had quarreled over the native word t use for "God" in their joint work of translating the Bible. But n greater bit of irony has ever come under my eye than the recen *christ*ening of our first new-type air bomber, capable of carrying i one load 4,000 pounds of bombs and munitions for two machin guns. I do not expect to see a better justification of the Christma card once sent around by Charles W. Wood, with these immorta lines:

> Hark! the herald angels pass
> Dropping bombs and poison gas.

ECCENTRICUS.

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